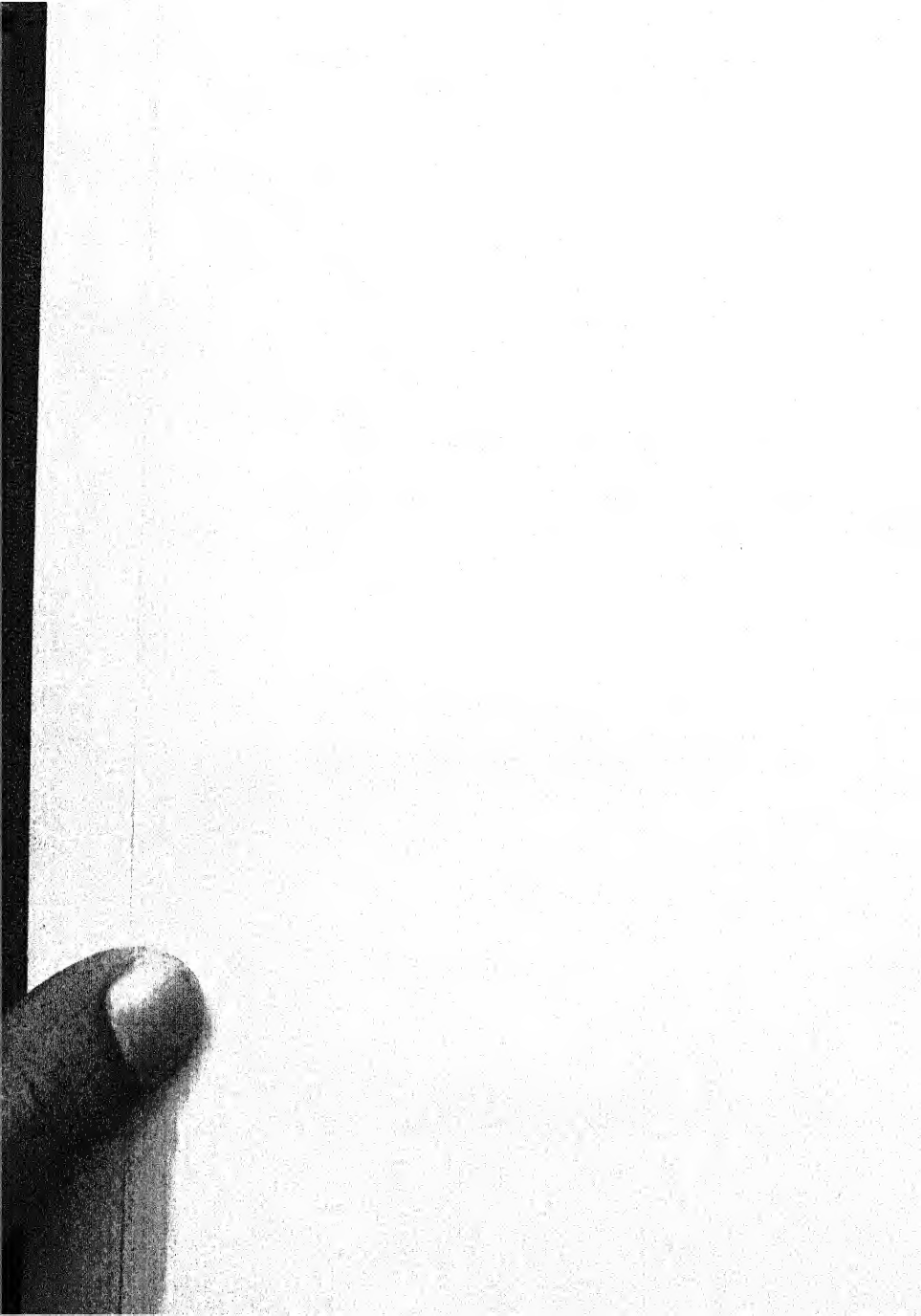


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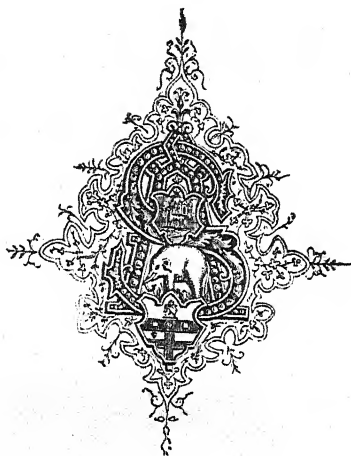
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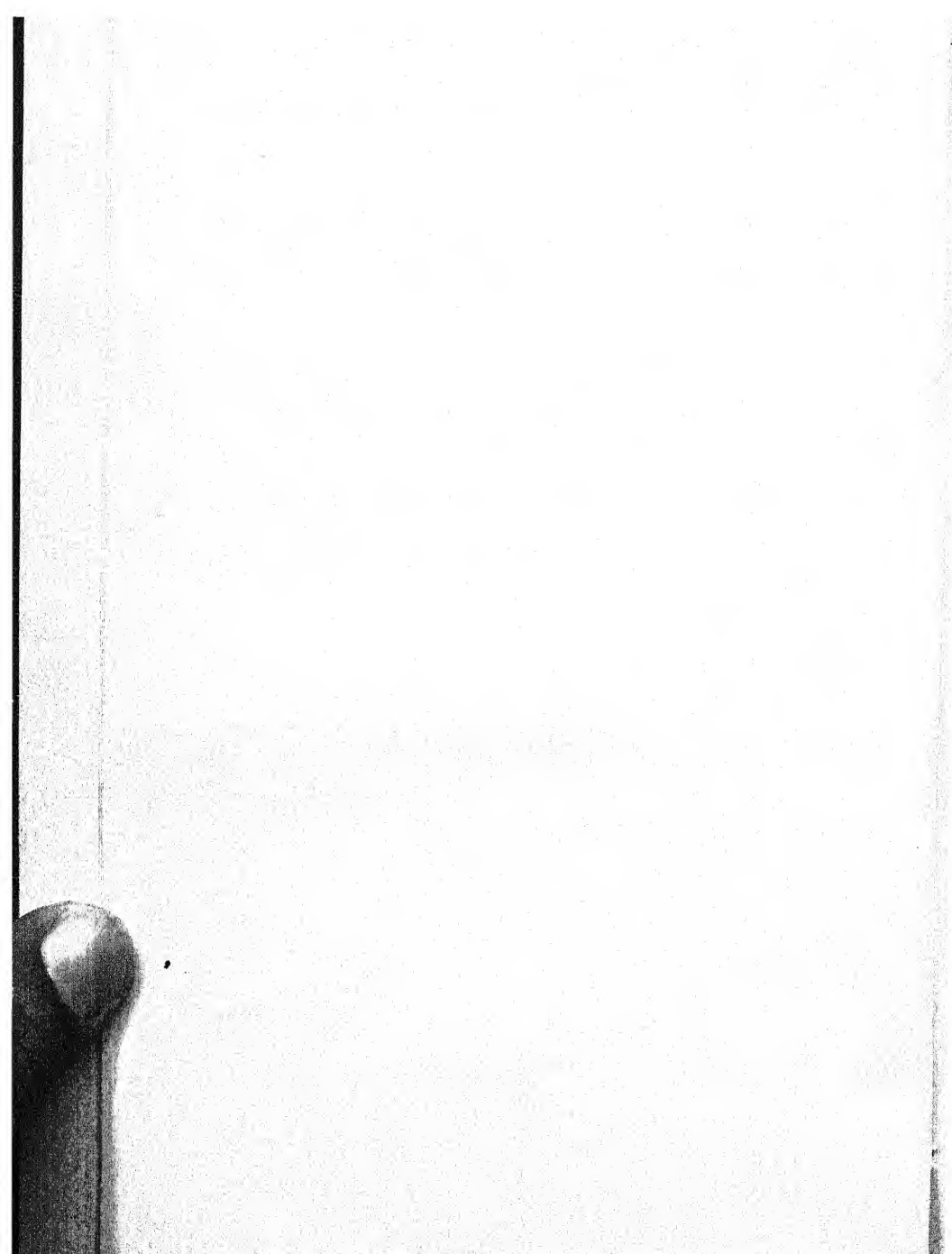
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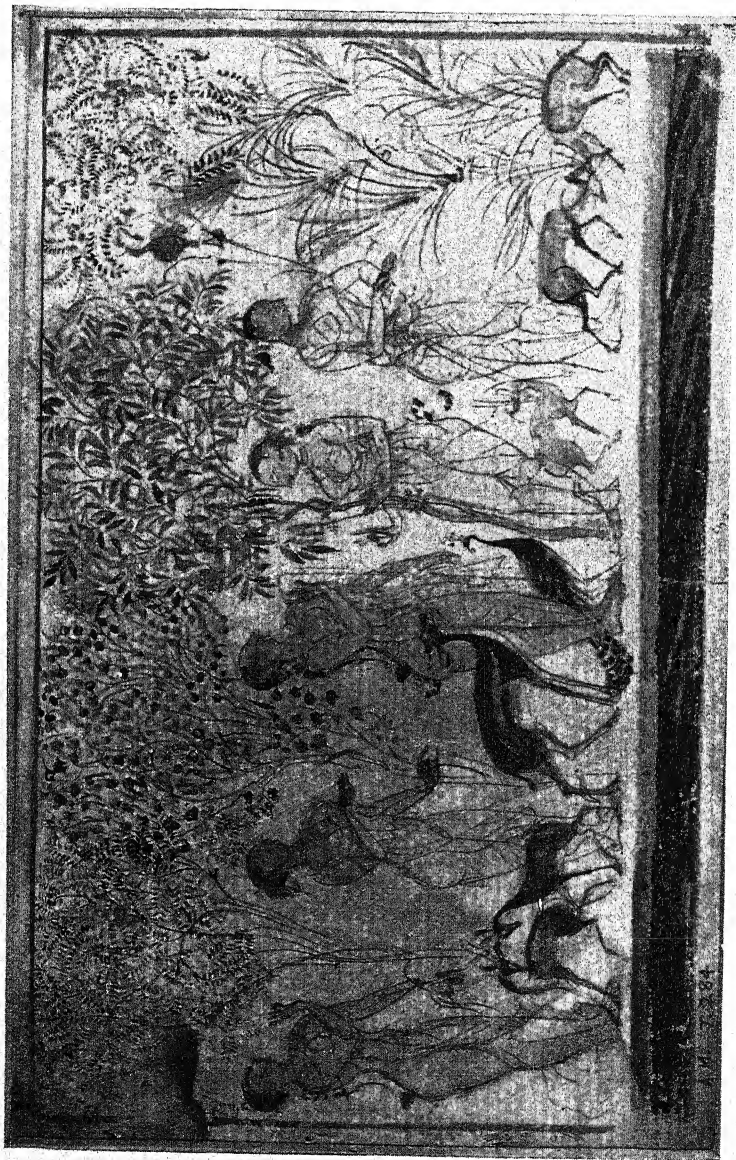
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Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 10

Milkmaids in the Groves of Brindāban

(32 × 2·05 cm.)

By BASIL GRAY

(PLATE I)

ONE of the most beautiful and interesting paintings at the Royal Academy Exhibition of Indian Art (No. 472) was lent by the Asutosh University Museum, Calcutta. Two subjects, painted on both sides of a single sheet in reverse directions, represent the Milkmaids of Brindāban awaiting Krishna by the River Jumna on a moonlit night. The one not shown at the Exhibition is reproduced by Mr. D. P. Ghosh in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (vol. ix, 1941, p. 112): the other is reproduced here (Pl. I).

Mr. Ghosh found this painting, with 34 others, in Nayāgarh. He points to features "which defy classification according to any of the known phases of Indian art", but regards them as marking a beginning of a new phase of Orissan art, representing a "gradual reversion to the traditional Indian idiom" and a "relaxation of Mughal and Western conventions". He implies that it is later than 1700, perhaps a good deal later.

But is this painting in orange, blue, and green typical of Orissa? Its decorative foliage shows a connection with the none too common illumination on Oriya palm-leaf manuscripts, but in these palm-leaf paintings an extreme tightness of handling is the exact opposite of the freedom in our Krishna paintings. Where are this freedom and exquisite colour sense to be found? I would suggest a glance towards the Deccan. Some paintings of Ragini subjects lent by the Maharaja of Bikanir (Nos. 935 and 940), in conjunction with the Chester-Beatty MS. of the *Nujum-al-‘ulūm*, give a better idea of the contribution of the old Hindu school of Vijayanagar to the formation of the Deccani schools of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. This Hindu style is in fact entitled to be called "the old Indian style". I would suggest that the Asutosh paintings represent a survival rather than a new beginning. This interpretation is supported by the technique of painting on cotton, the old form of the lateral manuscript, and the aristocratic tradition revealed more strongly by the one comparable painting known (No. 592 at the Royal Academy: Mr. Ghosh's article. *ib.* pl. xiii).

Culture Change in Greater India

By H. G. QUARITCH WALES

"COMMENT, transplantée au Cambodge, à Java, et dans les autres pays, l'esthétique indienne a-t-elle donné naissance à l'art khmèr, à l'art javanais et aux autres arts hindous d'Extrême-Orient ? C'est là un des problèmes les plus délicats qui s'offre aux archéologues." In those challenging words, on the last page of his recent valuable work of synthesis,¹ M. Coedès indicates with his usual acumen a main goal of future Greater Indian research. It presents a formidable task indeed, calling for inquiry into the whole problem of culture change in Greater India.

We can, I think, avoid unnecessary confusion at the outset. In a previous article² I have suggested that we should distinguish a western from an eastern zone of Greater India, the former comprising Burma, Central Siam, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, to which may be added Ceylon. It was this western zone that received the full impact of Indian colonizing zeal. If we can understand what happened there we shall have established, so far at least as the Indian factors are concerned, a firm basis from which to tackle the more complex situation in the eastern zone : Cambodia, Java, and Champa.

The Western Zone

In the course of my own excavations, undertaken with the express purpose of learning more of the processes of Indian cultural expansion, the concept gradually emerged that we had to do with a series of successive waves corresponding to the peak periods of medieval Indian civilization, the Amarāvati, Gupta, Pallava and Pāla. Now before proceeding further it seems important to establish this position on a broader basis of facts than my excavations alone could furnish. To this end I propose to review, as briefly as possible, the body of accumulated evidence as to the character of the civilization in the western zone. We need not, however, concern

¹ *Histoire Ancienne des États Hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient*, by G. Coedès, Hanoi, 1944.

² "Recent Malayan Excavations and Some Wider Implications," *JRAS.*, 1946, pp. 142-9.

ourselves with the Amarāvati since, except in Ceylon, it seems to have been succeeded by the Gupta before contact with the indigenous people could become effective. And we must omit Central Siam after the tenth century, since by that time it was overrun by the expanding Khmer civilization.

In reviewing the archæological material from the western zone the two questions we shall bear in mind are (1) whether there is evidence that this or that wave reached a particular country; (2) whether there are indications of local development, of artistic evolution, either during the period of active Indian colonization, or in the centuries after the tide of Indian influence had ebbed.

GUPTA

Ceylon.—That the art of Ceylon is in general a reflection of that of India, without original developments, has long been recognized.¹ Of the few sculptures of purely Gupta workmanship may be mentioned the man and woman at Isurumuniya,² and the guardstones with dwarf guardians of Runumahavihara.³ The famous rock paintings of Sigiriya are also purely Gupta. Other Buddhist sculptures, as well as the profusion of *stupas* and monastery basements at Anurādhapura keep close to the art tradition of Gupta India. Even the eleventh to twelfth century art of Polonnaruwa (apart from buildings of contemporary Tamil style) has been correctly denominated “archaistic”,⁴ with many colossal *stupas* and Gupta style sculptures.

Burma.—Old Prome, the capital of the Pyus, is still the only site from which we have considerable archæological evidence for the Gupta period. There are *stupas*, such as the Bawbawgyi, of Gupta type. Among Hīnayāna Buddhist sculptures and bronzes some seem to be of definitely Gupta workmanship, such as the sculpture of the east Zegu temple and the repoussé figures of the famous casket found in 1926. But others are the work of local copyists who sometimes made iconographical mistakes.⁵

¹ De Beylié, *L'Architecture Hindoue en Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1907, pp. 358 and 393. This opinion recently confirmed by Stern, *Histoire universelle des Arts* (L. Reau), IV. *Arts Musulmans, Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1939, p. 177.

² *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Series G, vol. i, pl. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pls. 40, 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 9.

Central Siam.—Before A.D. 550 this region formed most of the western part of Fu-nan, and then until about A.D. 1000 constituted the kingdom known to the Chinese as Dvāravatī. Apart from Vaiṣṇava sculptures and a sanctuary tower at Śī T'èp which I have considered to be of Gupta style of the fifth or sixth century¹ and some decadent survivals of the type at Suphan, U T'ong² and perhaps P'éc'ābūri,³ the remains covering this long period are an efflorescence of Hīnayāna Buddhist art adhering closely to the Gupta tradition and paralleling the contemporary situation in Ceylon. At a number of sites round the head of the Gulf of Siam, such as Lōp'būri, Nak'ôn Pāthōm and P'ong Tūk, archæological remains have been found which include *stupa* bases and monastic platforms recalling those of Anurādhapura, architectural fragments decorated with scroll ornament of Gupta style, votive tablets, "wheels of the law" and stone sculptures of the Buddha either standing, with the robe covering both shoulders in north Indian fashion, or seated in the European posture, or "turning the wheel of the law".

There is no sign of development during the long period of more than five hundred years that this Buddhist culture of Gupta tradition endured. From a fairly close approach to the Gupta canon reached in some of the earliest and best Buddha figures, there is steady deterioration, the sculpture becoming stylized and the physiognomy increasingly negroid. A northern Dvāravatī offshoot founded in the eighth century, Haripuñjaya (Lāmphun), maintained its political independence and the Dvāravatī style of art into the twelfth century.

Malay Peninsula.—The imitation of a Gupta model is very evident in the Viṣṇu from C'āiyya,⁴ indeed it shows a close resemblance, especially as regards headdress and huge ear pendants, to the Kārttikeya of Bhumara.⁵ Similar figures are in situ at Ligor. Of Buddhist figures of pure Gupta style examples are known from Wieng Srā,⁶ Kedah,⁷ and Perak,⁸ while Dvāravatī style Buddhas are found as far south as C'āiyya. Remains of *stupas* dating from

¹ *I.A. & L.*, vol. x, No. 2.

² *JRAS.*, 1946, pl. xvii.

³ *BEFEO.*, xli, 2, pl. xxviii and p. 236.

⁴ *Ars Asiatica*, vol. xii, pl. x centre.

⁵ *MASI.*, 16, pl. xiii c.

⁷ *JRAS.*, 1946, p. xv.

⁶ *I.A. & L.*, vol. ix, No. 1, pl. v (i).

⁸ *JRASMB.*, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 50.

the fifth or sixth century have been excavated on the coast of Kedah and Province Wellesley.¹

Sumatra.—Though Sumatran Śrīvijaya was strongly affected by the Gupta wave, and we know that it became a great Buddhist centre, archæological evidence is scanty. There is a fifth or sixth century bronze Buddha of Gupta style from Mount Seguntang,² and a stone Buddha from Jambi.³ A seventh century head of Viṣṇu from the neighbouring island,⁴ Bangka, closely resembling one of the Śī T'èp sculptures,⁵ seems to be a product of this wave in which the features are already strongly mongolized.

PALLAVA

Ceylon.—The Pallava wave reached the height of its activity during the latter part of the sixth and the seventh centuries. In Ceylon Hindu Pallava works of the best style are confined to the splendid rock sculptures of Isurumuniya, namely the man and horse,⁶ and the elephants⁷ so reminiscent of the descent of the Ganges reliefs at Mahābālipuram. A stone Bodhisattva found in Ceylon has been recognized by Paranavitana as having Pallava affinities.⁸ There are also a few figures of somewhat inferior workmanship, notably the Avalokiteśvara at Kustarajala,⁹ the image in the round standing in front of the temple at Kurukkalmadam and the colossal Budurvegala group.¹⁰

Burma.—Here remains attributable to the Pallava wave seem to be confined to a couple of Hindu sculptures from Old Prome. One of them is a headless but otherwise well preserved relief showing Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī.¹¹ Though close to the Pallava style it shows certain iconographical divergences. The other figure, of Viṣṇu on Garuda, is of poor workmanship, "the artist knew his subject well but failed to give an artistic expression to it."¹²

¹ *JRASMB.*, vol. xviii, pt. 1, pp. 5-10, vol. xx, pt. 1, pp. 3-5, and *JRAS.*, 1946, p. 143.

² Schnitger, *Archæology of Hindoo Sumatra*, pl. vi.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. xi.

⁴ *I.A. & L.*, vol. xi, No. 2, pl. i.

⁵ *I.A. & L.*, vol. x, No. 2, plate iii.

⁶ *CJS.*, vol. i, pl. 49, 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 48, 2.

⁸ *I.A. & L.*, vol. xi, No. 1, p. 28 and pl. ii.

⁹ *CJS.*, vol. ii, pt. 2, pls. 48 and 49.

¹⁰ *CJS.*, vol. ii, pt. 1, pls. 34 and 35.

¹¹ Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, fig. 2 and p. 75.

Central Siam.—While the kingdom of Dvāravatī remained overwhelmingly Buddhist, with the Gupta art style surviving, some centres of Hinduism, as at Sī Māhā P'ôt, were evidently established. For reasons about to be given, I think that the mitred Viṣṇus from this site ¹ may be considered to adhere closely to the Indian Pallava style, though probably dating from the eighth century or even later.

Malay Peninsula.—M. Pierre Dupont's interesting article "Viṣṇu mitrés de l'Indochine Occidentale" ² has only recently become accessible to me. After studying it I agree that the P'ra No' Viṣṇu of Tākuapa, ³ for which I had previously proposed Gupta affinity, may be better accounted for as of virtually pure Pallava style of probably seventh century. Also that the generally similar but less well modelled Viṣṇus, likewise characterized especially by cylindrical mitre and ankle-length robe, found in the peninsula at Wieng Srā and Sūrāt, ⁴ as well as those above mentioned from Sī Māhā P'ôt, are later local imitations.

I have ascribed to Pallava colonists of the sixth or seventh century the Śiva temple remains I excavated in Kedah ⁵; and near to one of them was found a miniature shrine roof closely resembling the roof of a Pallava *ratha*. The later Śiva temples of the eleventh or twelfth century that I also excavated in Kedah seem to be decadent survivals of the same wave of influence. I have also called attention ⁶ to the way in which another stone image of Viṣṇu from Wieng Srā seems to be a lifeless copy of a Pallava model, such as the probably eighth century Pallava Viṣṇu which forms one of the Tākuapa triad.

Sumatra.—The only evidence appears to be a stone Bodhisattva and the torso of another. ⁷ Their close resemblance to the Ceylon Bodhisattva above mentioned has been pointed out by D. Ghosh. ⁸

PĀLA

Ceylon.—The importance of the Pāla expansion of the eighth century, carrying with it Mahāyāna Buddhism far and wide, has

¹ BEFEO., xli, 2, pls. xxvii, xxix, xxx.

² BEFEO., xli, 2, pp. 233-254 (Hanoi, 1942).

³ Loc. cit., pl. xxx, and I.A. & L., vol. ix, 1, pl. ii.

⁴ BEFEO., xli, 2, pls. xxviii and xxxi.

⁵ JRASMB., vol. xviii, pt. I, sites 4-9. ⁶ JRAS., 1946. nl. xvii.

been generally recognized.¹ It was characterized largely by the Tantrism of the Vajrayana school, showing a marked syncretism with Hinduism as is evident in the sculptures of the eighth century Paharpur temple of Bengal.²

In Ceylon this Vajrayanism came to the fore in the reign of Sena I (circa A.D. 846) and flourished side by side with Hinayāna Buddhism until the eleventh century.³ Architecturally the remains of the Gedige and Building A of the Anurādhapura citadel,⁴ which can be dated eighth century on the strength of an inscription, are of great interest. In both there is a projection from the central part of each face such as is not known in South India but which recalls the plan of the Pāla temple of Paharpur.⁵ A number of eighth or ninth century Pāla bronzes are known from Ceylon. Coomaraswamy illustrates examples of Avalokiteśvara, Jambhala, and Vajrapani,⁶ and there are others in the British Museum.

Burma.—From the eighth century to the fall of Pagan in the thirteenth the art of Burma was little more than a reflection of that of the East Indian school, although in the later centuries we may detect borrowings from China and the Khmers. At Old Prome, besides ninth century votive tablets, stamped with Mahāyānist deities and brought by pilgrims from India, several Bodhisattva images have been found, including a small bronze and a gold figure with Pāla features.⁷ A relief of Viṣṇu reposing on the serpent Ananta was also found there,⁸ and two more depicting the same subject, also of Pāla style, are known from Thaton.⁹

At Pagan, besides the famous Brahma reliefs of the Nanpaya temple,¹⁰ the Hindu images of the Nat-hlaung temple also show close Pāla affinity, dating from not later than the eleventh century.¹¹ Mahāyānism before, and even after, Anuruddha introduced Hinayāna Buddhism in A.D. 1057, is evidenced by the large number of votive tablets (in *nagari* script of the ninth to thirteenth centuries) many of which made locally "slavishly imitated" East

¹ Grousset, "L'Art Pala dans l'Inde Exterieur," *Mélanges Linossier*, pp. 277-285; Coedès, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 121.

² *MASI.*, 55.

³ S. Paranavitana, "Mahayanism in Ceylon," *CJS.*, vol. ii, pt. 1.

⁴ *MASC.*, iii.

⁵ S. K. Saraswati in *JGIS.*, vol. iv, p. 159.

⁶ *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, figs. 297, 298, 299.

⁷ Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 91.

⁸ *Archaeological Survey of Burma*, vol. 4, p. 14. ⁹ *Ibid.*, pls. 5 and 6.

Indian models. Indeed Mahāyānist images up to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and frescoes as late as the thirteenth, as well as figures of the historical Buddha, continued to be made in a style closely imitating the contemporary art of Eastern India. "Sculptors from different centres of Bihar and Bengal must have migrated during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries to Pagan, the capital city of Burma, and they alone should be held responsible for the large number of stone sculptures and bronzes that hail from Pagan."¹ There is no sign of the growth of an Indo-Burmese art. When Dr. Ray, who has made an exhaustive study of the subject, speaks of "Burmanization" towards the end of the period, it seems that he means just decadence.²

It is the same with the architecture. The Indian *meru* or temple-mountain type of structure exists in its Buddhist form, i.e. a type of *stupa* known originally from Gandhara and Taxila and itself probably a combination of the Indian *stupa* and the Babylonian ziggurat. But even in thirteenth century Mingalazedi there is no spectacular development of the pyramidal base at the expense of the *stupa*—as we shall find to be the case in Java.

Otherwise the Pagan temples are all slight variations of a single type which from its resemblance to that represented on certain Indian sculptures and paintings may be said to be that of contemporary Bengal and Eastern India.³ Bearing in mind their much later date, the resemblance of the Pagan temples to the Paharpur temple, at least in exterior elevation, is striking.⁴ Paucity of decorative sculpture is a prominent feature as compared to the arts of the eastern zone. The main change in the later temples is a soaring tendency which in South-East Asia one associates with decadence.

Central Siam.—Here Hinayāna Buddhism seems to have effectively resisted the claims of the Mahāyāna with the result that Gupta art traditions continued in decadence until, and to some extent after, the Khmer expansion westwards about A.D. 1000. However we have seen that Anuruddha of Burma, though a supporter of Hinayāna Buddhism, employed East Indian craftsmen,

¹ Ray, "Sculptures and Bronzes from Pagan," *JISOA.*, vol. 2, No. 1, p. 39.

² Ray, op. cit., pp. 40-1, and "Paintings at Pagan", *JISOA.*, vol. 6, pp. 146-7.

³ See Saraswati, "Temples of Bengal," in *JISOA.*, vol. 2, pp. 135-6.

⁴ Duroiselle, *MSL.* 56: S. K. Saraswati, "Temples of Pagan" in *JISOA.*

and it is via Burma that Pāla art is closely reflected in the twelfth to thirteenth century sculpture and architecture of C'eng Sên and C'eng Măi in Northern Siam.

Malay Peninsula.—It is especially because they show complete lack of Javanese sculptural ornamentation that I have ascribed the small cruciform temples of C'āiya¹ to colonial Indian workmanship in the Pāla tradition, rather than to reflux influence from Java as supposed by Coedès. Stern, on the other hand, has suggested² Cham rather than Javanese influence. While the possibility cannot be excluded I have stressed rather the basic Pāla character which obviously influenced both cubic Cham and Central Javanese Buddhist architecture. I have also expressed the opinion that the eighth to tenth century bronze Bodhisattvas of C'āiya and Malaya³ closely adhere to Pāla models. But in both these and many of the Sumatran bronzes South Indian feeling⁴ and probably cultural influence can be detected. After all there is ample historical evidence to suggest that, while some of the Pāla influence came direct to the Peninsula from Nālandā, much of it came via such South Indian Buddhist centres as Negapatam.

Sumatra.—While Central Javanese influence seems evident in the South Sumatran remains at Lematang Hilir,⁵ which is not at all surprising on grounds of geographical proximity, I am inclined to think that this influence was very limited in effect. It may no doubt be detected in the Mahāyānist bronzes from South Sumatra, e.g. the well-known Bodhisattvas from Palembang,⁶ but I think that their style is predominantly Pāla and the feeling rather South Indian than Javanese.

This view seems to receive support from the fact that even the relatively late remains in the northern half of the island at Muara Takus (eleventh to twelfth century) and Padang Lawas (twelfth to

¹ *I.A. & L.*, vol ix, No. 1, pl. vi.

² In Réau's *Histoire Universelle des Arts* (IV), p. 248.

³ *Ars Asiatica*, vol. xii, pls. xv-xvii, and *JRASMB.*, vol. xvii, pt. 1, pls. 79-81 and pp. 51, 52, 73.

⁴ I.e. despite the fact that some of the Pāla influence came direct from Northern India, the local genius or spirit in which the work was executed, in Malaya and Sumatra, probably remained largely South Indian, following the long contacts with South India. Local genius and the way in which it is believed to work will be discussed below (see page 13).

⁵ *Krom Inleiding*, vol. 2, p. 425. Schnitzler on cit. p. 4.

fourteenth centuries) are still essentially Indian in conception.¹ They can hardly be entirely explained as the products of the late influx of South Indian influence which certainly took place. However only systematic excavation of these sites may be expected to clear up the problem as to what extent the superficial remains really represent a continuing local Indian tradition, going back perhaps at least to the eighth century.

At Muara Takus the Malagai *stupa*² has been compared by Stutterheim³ to that of Giryek,⁴ the only large Pāla *stupa* known. And the Chandi Bungsu,⁵ which formerly had on its terrace a *stupa* surrounded by a ring of smaller ones looks very much like a possible Indian prototype of the upper terrace of the Borobodur lacking, as in Burma, and as we might expect here, the peculiarly Javanese development of the pyramidal base. At Padang Lawas there is a series of square brick shrines, with a projection from the centre of each face, and with the superstructure supporting a *stupa* much after the manner of certain contemporary small shrines at Pagan.⁶ The ornamentation of all these north Sumatra temples is very severe and restrained.

While we need not deny the probability of certain borrowings from the contemporary art of East Java—such as the presence and peculiarities of the temple-guards for example—as pointed out by Bosch,⁷ I think Krom is on firmer ground in stressing their far from Javanese character.⁸ At the same time they show so little originality that I think we are not entitled to coin a term “Indo-Sumatran” for them if we mean by that any special development of, or variation from, a colonial-Indian style.⁹

The sculptural decoration may be described as showing varying degrees of the Indianesque. The few Buddhist images found at Padang Lawas show remarkable Pāla affinities. One, a bronze

¹ Of course the Batak mountain tribes, like hill people elsewhere, remained incompletely Indianized.

² Schnitger, *op. cit.*, pls. xviii-xx.

³ *Tjandi Borobodoer*, p. 61.

⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 30, pl. i, p. 84.

⁵ Schnitger, *op. cit.*, pl. xx.

⁶ de Beylié, *op. cit.*, fig. 219.

⁷ *OV.*, 1930.

⁸ *Inleiding*, ii, pp. 422-433.

⁹ One of them, Biara Sitokpajan, of probably light construction, since only basement and pillar socles remain, is strikingly similar, as regards plan, measurements, and orientation, to the perhaps considerably earlier Kedah sites 15 and 16, especially the former (compare *OV.*, 1920, p. 65 and pls.; 1925, pp. 11 and 12; 1926, pp. 25 and 26, and particularly the revised plan in *OV.*, 1930, with *JRASMB.*

Amitabha¹ reminds one of the Burma type. An image of Heruka, one of the most popular Vajrayana gods² (Tantrism was evidently rife in Sumatra) so closely resembles a tenth century Nairatma image of Bihar³ that Schnitger⁴ believes that they must both date from the same century.

Though certain points await further clarification, the above survey will I think adequately establish the general conclusion that the archaeological remains in the western zone represent simply the reflection of one or other of the main waves of Indian cultural expansion, some survivals from previous waves no doubt continuing. And the impact of each wave seems to have been felt *throughout* the zone, for even Ceylon, despite its close proximity to south India, shows the effects of *every* wave. However, where strongly marked conservative tendencies controlled the situation, as in Central Siam, the power of a wave could be minimized.

Our second proposition seems to be no less firmly established by the survey: the various waves are clearly reflected in the art of the western zone but there is *no sign of evolution*. The Indian colonists probably made up most of the educated city population of the region. For example, a Chinese text of the fifth century A.D. states that at Touen-siun, a dependency of Fu-nan believed to have been situated on the Malay Peninsula, there were "five hundred families of Hou (? = merchants) from India, and more than a thousand Brahmans from India".⁵ Such settlers probably kept in close touch with contemporary Indian culture and adhered closely to the canon. According to the same text these Indians took local wives who accepted Indian doctrines. One sees little scope for indigenous developments under such foreign domination. One might expect, as indeed one finds, that static correctness gradually gave place to decadence.

The Eastern Zone

We may now feel, and to a certain extent we are, on sure ground when we turn to the eastern zone—Cambodia, Java, and Champa—for distance from India can have imposed no impenetrable barrier to the passage of ideas though we cannot of course assume that the

¹ Schnitger, op. cit., pl. xl.

² Schnitger, op. cit., pl. xxxiv.

³ Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, pl. 30.

effect of each wave was uniform throughout the area. But any confidence we may thus possess will be rudely shaken. If we try in the realm of art to trace *in detail* the effects of each or any wave in the eastern zone, we soon encounter stumbling blocks and probably decide that the venture is unprofitable. Such limited success as we meet may even be misleading, encouraging unwarranted conclusions with regard to the whole. We can indeed hardly expect to explain in the accustomed terms what are evidently no longer mere reflections of the Indian waves. We have to do instead with actively developing arts (think of the already changing seventh to eighth century Khmer lintel for instance) which while responsive to succeeding waves of Indian influence are already evolving as Khmer, Cham or Indo-Javanese manifestations.

This probably does not mean that the peoples of the eastern zone were not completely converted to Indian religious culture, that is to say until or unless, as we shall shortly see, a resurgence of pre-Indian civilization set in. Indeed Coedès makes an important point when he states that it is Indian thought that unites to India the plastic arts of Greater India, even such apparently un-Indian monuments as the Bayon of Angkor and the Borobodur being understandable only to Indianists.¹ The differences so striking to our eye chiefly concern externals. And it is with these that our problem mainly lies.

Only a few Indian writers, whose scholarship seems decidedly tinged with nationalism,² profess to believe that these strongly characterized arts of the Khmers, Chams, and Indo-Javanese can be ascribed to purely Indian craftsmanship now no longer closely fettered by the regulations of the *sūtras*. The well-known hypotheses of Parmentier³ and Bosch,⁴ that have attempted to explain to some extent the growth of these arts, have both left more or less ample room for the participation of the local peoples. Or as Krom says of the Indo-Javanese temples: "An art Indian in origin but Indo-Javanese in execution."⁵ More generally, I feel that after an

¹ Coedès, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

² Especially O. C. Gangoly, "Relations between Indian and Indonesian Culture," in *JGIS.*, vol. vii.

³ "A Hypothesis as to the Origin of Indo-Javanese Art," *Rupam.*, No. 17.

⁴ "Origine Commune des Architectures Hindoues dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient," *Études Asiatiques*, ii.

⁵ *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1931, p. 129.

initial period of tentative Indian settlement, mostly coastal, in the eastern zone (Fu-nan, Borneo, West Java) there was no such Indian domination as in the western zone and indigenous Hinduized rulers and craftsmen were responsible both for the *manipulation* of what was received from India and for a *bias* in favour of developing or transforming certain features rather than others. Hence I agree with Coedès¹ not only as to the importance of the influence of the *śāstras* in native hands but also as to the importance of the impressions gained by local visitors to the sacred places of India, a factor which has hitherto received no notice.

Thus there seems to be a great measure of general agreement that the artistic evolution of the Khmers, Chams, and Indo-Javanese must largely be attributed in each case to a *local genius* (spirit or feeling). But we need to know in each case what gives the local genius its specific character and how it acts as a producer of culture change.

It is useful to note that some advance in understanding how the process actually works has recently been made by certain anthropologists.² The term they use for local genius is "basic personality" the "basic" not referring to origins nor being in any sense racial. The phrase is intended to convey the sum of the characteristics which the vast majority of a people have in common as a result of their experiences in early life. As such, its sponsors point out, it approximates to what Herodotus called "national character". It can be destroyed by extreme acculturation as seems to have happened in the Indian colonized lowlands of the western zone of Greater India, or alternatively it can undergo more or less change as a result of voluntary acceptance of an alien culture. But in the latter case some of its features will remain constant, revealing themselves as a preference for what are evidently the more congenial traits of the new cultural pattern, and a specific way of handling the newly acquired concepts. These constant features will determine the reaction to the new culture and *give direction to subsequent evolution*.

In places like the eastern zone of Greater India, where there is a gradual waning of the Indian influence, we naturally find that the local genius gains increasing power to mould what has been accepted.

¹ Op. cit., p. 31.

² *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, by A. Kardiner and R. Linton, Columbia, 1945, especially Chapter XIV.

At a later stage, failing the arrival of a new and powerful foreign wave (such as Hinayāna Buddhism in Cambodia under the impetus of the Ceylon revival), the local culture itself, perhaps never entirely forgotten by the mass of the people and openly practised in outlying mountainous districts, will tend to regain its popularity, even in official circles, retaining only from the now declining Indian culture what it deems in some way suited to the indigenous purpose. This happened ultimately in Champa, but much earlier and more intensely in Java where an Indonesian renaissance replaced the evolution then in progress. The local genius, in these cases, which had previously been moulding the Indian culture, now once more moulds the resurgent local culture—plus whatever it may have chosen to retain of Indian forms.

From what has been said above it would appear that the differentiation of Indo-Javanese, Cham and Khmer art must result from the working of a different local genius in each case, the constant features of which depend on the particular pre-Indian civilization of the region.

That the form and decoration of Central Javanese temples was in some way determined by the prehistoric civilization has been suggested both by Stutterheim¹ and Heine-Geldern.² And it is the latter who, without ever coming to grips with our problem, has in his valuable synthetic studies³ provided a sound basis for this task by distinguishing the three civilizations which in differing measure affected South-East Asia just before the coming of Indian influences. In so doing he has replaced vague ideas about a uniform "monsoon civilization"⁴ or an "Oceanian culture"⁵ which has been held to have influenced (but scarcely could have served to differentiate) the Greater Indian cultures of the eastern zone.

¹ *Tjandi Borobodoer*, pp. 21 ff.

² "Vorgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Kolonialindischen Kunst," in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, vol. viii, 1934, pp. 20 and 38.

³ Especially "Vorgeschichtliche Grundlagen . . ."; "L'Art preboudhique de la Chine et de l'Asie du Sud-Est et son influence en Oceanie", in *RAA.*, tome xi, no. 4; *Prehistoric Research in the Netherlands Indies*, South-East Asia Institute, New York, 1945.

⁴ P. Mus, "L'Inde vue de l'Est, Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa," *BEFEO.*, xxxii, pp. 367-410; A. M. Hocart, "India and the Pacific," *CJS.*, i, 2, pp. 61-84.

⁵ First proposed by A. Bastian and later propounded by H. Marchal in *Des Influences étrangères dans l'art et la civilisation Khmers*, largely quoted by E.

The three civilizations distinguished by Dr. Heine-Geldern, after a thorough study of all the available facts, are as follows: (1) An *Older Megalithic Culture*, coming from the north-west with the neolithic, probably between 2500 and 1500 B.C. It brought a monumental type of sculpture, stone pyramids and terraces, stone seats and megalithic assembly places, menhirs, various types of stone tombs and dolmens, the last however not used as graves. The megalithic monuments were memorials for sacrificial feasts or for ancestor worship, and were accompanied by a type of art characterized by certain simple juxtaposed motifs, such as rosettes or plain circles, used not for their decorative value but as magical symbols. Other elements brought by this Older Megalithic Culture were terraced rice cultivation, the brewing of rice spirit, the raising of pigs and, for sacrificial purposes, of cattle and buffaloes, certain pottery and bark cloth-making technique, the building of rectangular houses on piles, and the custom of head-hunting. This civilization came down the river valleys, especially it would seem the Irrawaddi, and it is still alive in Assam and the Nias Islands. It spread through Indonesia and Polynesia and even to Central America, an expansion made possible by the invention of the outrigger canoe.¹

(2) A *Younger Megalithic Culture*, coupled in South-East Asia with a bronze age and early iron age civilization known as the *Dong-So'n Culture* after the site in Tonkin where it was first recognized. The megalithic structures are on a more modest scale, consisting of stone cist graves and dolmen-like slab graves, stone sarcophagi and vats, and in addition to sculpture in the round bas-relief and painting appear. This Younger Megalithic came down from China about the fourth to third century B.C. and in South-East Asia it has a more restricted range than the Older Megalithic. So far as is at present known it seems to have spread through the islands to Sumatra, and along the Annam coast and Malay Peninsula, not however penetrating very far westwards into continental South-East

¹ I do not suggest that the Older Megalithic—any more than the early Chinese—reached the American mainland as a functioning civilization. I am inclined to agree with the Americanists that the Mayan civilization is essentially an indigenous growth. But I think that they may be wrong in denying or seeking to minimize the importance of isolated Megalithic or early Chinese concepts and motifs that may have reached Central America via the Pacific and then been moulded in accordance with the Mayan genius. It is local genius, not borrowed elements, however numerous, that guides the evolution of a culture.

Asia. The early Dong So'n culture has been shown by B. Karlgren¹ to be closely related to the Huai style of Central China (fourth to third century B.C.). At the same time he has demonstrated, I think decisively, that Heine-Geldern's suggestions of Hallstattian-Transsylvanian-Caucasian influences on both the Huai and early Dong-So'n cultures are erroneous and untenable. But Heine-Geldern may well be right in supposing that the Dong-So'n culture was introduced into Indonesia by small groups of merchants and colonists of the Yue people, ancestors of the present-day Annamites. Dong-So'n art is characterized by a type of decoration very different from that of the Older Megalithic and delighting in complicated double spirals, circles linked by tangents and meander-like patterns, the most distinctive type of work being remarkable bronze drums. In the Pasemah highlands of Sumatra there are large stone figures of a very dynamic type, some of warriors bearing the delineations of Dong-So'n drums on their backs, while in cist graves paintings of the same style have been found. The Dong So'n type of decorative design survives among certain peoples of South China and the Bataks, Dayaks, and other primitive Indonesians.

(3) *Han Culture*. Many finds, including sepulchral pottery (one vessel from Sumatra bearing an inscription dating it 45 B.C.) indicate the presence of Chinese colonists or merchants as early as the Han period. They would appear to have followed approximately in the footsteps of the earlier Dong-So'n voyagers, spreading along the coast of Indochina, Malay Peninsula, and through the islands. Fuller knowledge of this until recently unsuspected Han expansion is one of the most pressing tasks before future field research.² It may call for a complete revision of hitherto accepted views on Chinese overseas influence, as for example recently summarized by Coedès.³ We may indeed be brought to realize that Chinese

¹ "The Date of the Dong-So'n Culture," in *Bull. of the Mus. of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 42, Stockholm, 1942.

² Though I may have been right in ascribing (*JRASMB.*, xviii, i, p. 62) to Indonesians the actual manufacture of the early stamped pottery found in Johore, I now feel that their designs, like those of the *later* Dong-So'n drums, must be due to Chinese influence of the Han period. One can hardly doubt this now that we have evidence of actual Chinese settlement of the Han period in the neighbouring islands. Furthermore Professor J. M. Plumer, of the University of Michigan, recently showed me Han sherds that he found near the mouth of the Yangtze which appeared to me indistinguishable from the Johore type.

³ G. Coedès, *Histoire Ancienne des États Hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi, 1944, pp. 41, 42.

culture-bearers, long before their deeds were placed on record in dynastic histories, were actively if unconsciously laying the foundations of a "Greater China" in South-East Asia until superseded by the more attractive proposals of the Indian missionaries.

We must now try to form a fuller picture of the distribution of these civilizations throughout the areas with which we are particularly concerned, i.e. Java (and Bali), Champa, Cambodia, supplementing archaeological evidence with an examination of the character of resurgent earlier cultures (where such resurgence occurs), and observing any signs of survival of early cultures among the neighbouring primitive peoples. We will take each area in turn.

1. *Java (and Bali)*.—As every field archaeologist knows to his cost, wherever ancient stonework is exposed it is likely to be carried off and utilized by the later population. That this happened in the Javanese plains can be presumed on the analogy of what we know must have been the case in Central Burma and the Sumatran lowlands. Thus it is only by the survivals in Assam and Nias that we can infer that an Older Megalithic civilization must have flourished in the afterwards intensely Indianized Irrawaddi valley, while that the equally heavily Indianized plains of Sumatra must have previously had both the Older and Younger Megalithic cultures is indicated by the stone remains and decorative survivals of the Sumatran highlands. In Java the situation was not dissimilar, except that the Indo-Javanese lowland population, having retained their cultural independence, largely preserved their own genius as a legacy of their previous civilization.

Square terraced structures or stone pyramids with menhirs or rude "Polynesian" images are common in both the western and the eastern highlands of Java, as in many other parts of Indonesia. Their actual date may in many cases be uncertain but they testify nevertheless to the one time prevalence of the Older Megalithic. Furthermore the Younger Megalithic seems to have been equally well distributed in Java and Bali (where a mould for making Dong-So'n drums was found). However we may note in passing that there is reason to believe that it was less developed, as one might indeed expect, in the Sundanese region than in Central and East Java: the fourteenth century Sundanese Hindu images, last flicker of Indo-Javanese influence towards the west, show a plainness and

megalithic dynamism which is in contrast with the *wayang* type reliefs and meander-like ornamentation of the Penanggungan and Sukuh pyramid shrines—East Javanese Hinduized megalithic monuments of the fourteenth to fifteenth century.

More directly of interest, however, is the character of the East Javanese culture proper as exhibited at Panataran and other Majapahit centres. The discovery of the Badut and Besuki temples¹ may indicate that there was no actual break in the architectural development of the shrine (considered as an isolated element) between Central and East Java. However the view of Stutterheim² vaguely expressed long before him by Fergusson,³ is I think correct. His view is that we are concerned in East Java not with a decadence (as might appear if judged from a purely Indian standpoint) but with a resurgent earlier civilization in which only Indian forms that in some way serve it are retained. Stutterheim's view is supported by Rassers,⁴ though with some difference of opinion as to the exact religious significance of the East Javanese reliefs, and it also finds confirmation in the researches of Berg and others into the development of Javanese literature.

According to Stutterheim the temple is no longer a place for the worship of a cosmic principle, manifested through an image of the supreme Hindu deity, but the shrine of a local spirit contacted through the image of an ancestor or king. Consequently the Hindu epic reliefs, whose characters are seen as long dead local heroes, as well as the suitably modified Indian architecture, sculptures and tantric practices, are utilized only in so far as they serve to give form to and accentuate Indonesian ideas.⁵

For our present inquiry what is most striking is the increased emphasis on the pyramidal base, a tendency reaching its height in the Balinese Surya-seats, while in Bali also a non-Indian temple arrangement is most obvious, the shrine being placed in the rear and reached by a number of terraces reminiscent of such a purely Older

¹ *ABIA* for 1926 and 1927. *OV.*, 1929.

² "Oudjavaansche Kunst," in *BTLVNI.*, vol. 79, pp. 323-346, and in *Djarwa*, vol. vii (1927), pp. 177 ff.

³ *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, p. 662.

⁴ "Over der Oorsprung van het Javaansche Tooneel," in *BTLVNI.*, vol. 88.

⁵ While the effect of an influx of late Pāla influence consequent on the downfall of Buddhism in Northern India, is evident enough in some of the sculptures of Djago and Singasari, it did not curb the general renaissance.

Megalithic style structure as that located on the Argopoero Mountains.¹ Again, in the East Javanese tomb-bathing places, Heine-Geldern sees the working of an Older Megalithic idea.² The greater naturalism in the sculpture and the replacement of the *makara* by the serpent in East Java are probably also to be looked upon as signs of Older Megalithic revival. So too is the change of the Indian *kāla-makara* ornament into a sun disc, as Stutterheim has shown,³ the chief Hindu deities at the same time coming to be identified with the sun.

On the other hand that the East Javanese relief style and the *wayang* figures have been moulded by the Dong-So'n genius has been suggested by Heine-Geldern,⁴ who also sees in the Keris Madjapahit a development of a Dong-So'n dagger type found in Tonkin and Annam.⁵ Geometrical patterns tend to replace Indian motifs on the profusely decorated temples, though the greater frequency of medallions in East than in Central Javanese art seems to me to point to the presence also of the Older Megalithic. In fact the resurgence shows a close intermingling of Older Megalithic and Dong-So'n features. Among present-day peoples of the region the Younger Megalithic survives on near-by Sumba Island while Dong-So'n patterns are perpetuated in Javanese *batik* and indeed in the decorative work of most of the neighbouring islands.

As already stated, actual Chinese settlement in the Han period is strongly suggested by finds of sepulchral pottery in Java (as well as in Borneo and Sumatra). Another find in Java is a Chinese bronze dagger-axe, while a bronze drum from Sangean I. near Sumbawa is decorated with figures in Chinese dress.⁶ A peculiar constriction of the temple body between base and cornice, characteristic of East Javanese temples, is to be seen also on a bas-relief edifice of the Cham temple Mi-sön F₁. Neither Stutterheim's explanation of the function of this constricted temple body in Java, nor his suggestion of a borrowing from Champa seem to me convincing. More probable

¹ J. A. de Jong, "Megalithische oudheden op het Jang-hoogland," in *TKNAG.*, vol. 54, pp. 22-9.

² "Vorgeschichtliche Grundlagen . . .", pp. 20-3.

³ "The Meaning of the Kala-makara Ornament," *I.A. & L.*, vol. iii, No. 1, 1929.

⁴ "Vorgeschichtliche Grundlagen . . .", pp. 38, 39.

⁵ "Ueber Kris-Griffe und ihre mythischen Grundlagen," *OZ.*, vol. 18, pp. 260-3.

⁶ Van der Hoop, *Catalogus der Praehistorische Verzameling* (Batavia), 1941, p. 62.

is Parmentier's belief that both are the result of a previous common tradition, which I think is traceable to the Han architectural style.

2. *Champa*.—There are no known remains in this area that can be attributed to the Older Megalithic. On the other hand the slab-grave excavated at Xuân-Lộc, 80 km. from Saigon,¹ points to the existence of the Younger Megalithic on this coast. This is in accord with the proximity of the first recognized centre of (late) Dong-So'n culture in Tonkin, with accompanying Han remains.

There is also evidence of a resurgence of Dong-So'n culture in later times. In the late Cham religion the Hindu gods are forgotten, ancestor worship returns, dead kings being represented by *kut* steles.² As one might expect, in a return to the Younger Megalithic, these are reliefs rather than sculptures in the round, and they gradually lose all semblance of human form. While the no longer appreciated Hindu temple architecture degenerates, "the end of the Cham art shows a very special decoration, entwined thongs ending in hooks, which have no equivalent in any other art" or so Parmentier thought when he expressed himself thus.³ Clearly we have here a return to decorative motifs reminiscent of the Dong-So'n, as for example one may see by comparing the stylized snake pattern of Thuan Dong temple,⁴ in effect running spirals, with certain Dong-So'n or early Chinese forms.⁵ Dong-So'n style is also very evident in the ornamental designs on the Cham royal treasure⁶ and in the painting of Po Rome temple⁷ which resembles Javanese *batik*. A modern Cham MS.⁸ contains an illustration of a bird-man curiously like those figured by Karlgren.⁹ Perhaps it implies a revival in Champa of the same cult that according to Goloubew seems to have survived with the Mu'ong of Tonkin. Dong-So'n designs also survive among some of the Tonkin hill people, e.g. the Lolo.

3. *Cambodia*.—The Khmer predilection for *phnom*, or small hills, as cult centres, which showed itself already in Fu-nan times, may be an indication of Older Megalithic tendencies. But the Khmer

¹ *JGIS.*, vol. iv, 1937, pp. 26-35.

² P. Mus, loc. cit.

³ *Inventaire descriptif des monuments camés*, 1918, ii, p. 237.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. clxviii D.

⁵ B. Karlgren, loc. cit., pl. 14, 8, and L'Réau's *Histoire Universelle des Arts*, tome iv, fig. 239, the latter a Han jade showing interlaced serpents.

⁶ Parmentier, op. cit., ii, fig. 42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, fig. 50.

⁸ Karlgren, loc. cit., pl. 17.

conversion to Hinayāna Buddhism as a result of the Ceylon revival prevents us from confirming this through reference to a resurgence of the early civilization. However some of the Naga tribes, with a strongly developed Older Megalithic culture, are Môn-Khmer speaking people. And closer at hand we get some significant evidence from the Lawas, nearest surviving non-Indianized relatives of the Indianized Môn-Khmers, though many of them have been converted from spirit and ancestor worship to Buddhism. Menhirs have been found near some of their deserted settlements in North Siam,¹ and terraces possibly attributable to them exist on Doi Suthep mountain, near Chiangmai.² The Lawas show no trace of Dong-So'n patterns in their dress, and their houses are undecorated.

Traces of the Dong-So'n or of a related culture have been reported from Luang Prabang, Laos, and at Sam-rong-sen, near the Tonlé Sap, Cambodia,³ while a bronze drum was dug up at Kalasan in N.E. Siam.⁴ But these sites would seem to represent roughly the western limit of penetration in any strength of the Dong-So'n culture into the Indochinese sub-continent. What is more it seems reasonable to suppose that the Môn-Khmer peoples occupying this region in the early centuries of our era would consist largely of fairly recent arrivals from the north-west, impregnated with the Older Megalithic culture but having little if any experience of the Dong-So'n or Han, which were presumably already giving way before the pressure of Indian colonization in Fu-nan. Consequently I should hardly expect to find any Dong-So'n or Han element in the Khmer genius.

So far as the above summarized evidence takes us I think we may propose a working hypothesis as follows : That in Java the Indian cultural influences were moulded by a local genius in which, in so far as it remained constant, certain Older Megalithic, Dong-So'n and Han features continued to operate ; in Champa by a Dong-So'n and Han genius ; and in Cambodia by a perhaps purely Older

¹ *JSS.*, vol. xxxi, pt. 1, pp. 45-7, and pt. 2, pp. 179-180.

² *JSS.*, vol. xxxi, pt. 1, p. 42.

³ O. Janse, *RAA.*, x, i, p. 44.

⁴ *JSS.*, vol. xxix, ii, p. 160. Other drums have of course been found much further west, but in circumstances suggesting that they were carried there in relatively recent times. However an outlier of the culture from the north-east seems to have reached the Karenni.

Megalithic genius. This might be expressed in formula :
 Indian Influence \times Older Megalithic/Dong-So'n/Han genius $<$
 Indo-Javanese Culture.

Indian Influence \times Dong-So'n/Han genius $<$ Cham Culture.

Indian Influence \times Older Megalithic genius $<$ Khmer Culture.

I use the multiplication sign because it has a more dynamic significance than would the $+$. It conveys better the idea that the energy that produced the change and the direction it took were local rather than Indian. Indeed while I retain the accepted phrase "Indian influence" I do not wish to give it the dynamic sense usually associated with the expression.

I shall now endeavour to test this hypothesis by tracing the working of the process in the development of each of the three classic arts of the eastern zone. We shall scrutinize each carefully to determine if possible the nature of the genius that was responsible for moulding the Indian concepts in this or that particular way. Of course motifs and other cultural material may sometimes also be borrowed from China or a Greater Indian neighbour. But local genius, which is very largely a matter of treatment, will, especially where such loans persist, reveal itself just as it does in the handling of what is derived from India.

It will naturally be convenient to select for examination the most characteristic features of each art where they can be most readily recognized, i.e. during the period of blossoming (but of course before any sign of resurgence of the pre-Indian civilization has taken place). Had we but sufficient knowledge of the pre-existing cultures we could probably demonstrate the working of the local genius even in the earliest stages of the formation of the great arts, but at present we must usually content ourselves with recognizing it in the more developed stages. Even then this is sometimes a much more difficult matter with the sculpture of deities than of other forms or in architecture. This is because by reason of their sacred character the deities often cling more closely to the *śāstras*. In the same way fewer liberties are taken with the great episodes in the life of the Buddha on Borobodur than in the generality of scenes, where, as Vogel long ago pointed out "it is not only the wealth of detail which bears a peculiar indigenous stamp; it is the whole style of these sculptures which has a character of its own."¹

¹ In *The Influence of Indian Art*. India Society. 1925. p. 64.

INDO-JAVANESE (CENTRAL JAVANESE) ART

As already stated, Heine-Geldern, and to some extent Stutterheim and Krom, have stressed that the special character of Indo-Javanese art is determined by the character of the preceding local civilization. Thus the Javanese, after at first merely building Śaivite temples on the Dieng mountain plateau which was for them the spirit land, soon came to favour and develop in the Borobodur and at Prambanan Indian architectural styles of the Meru type that were in line with their familiar pyramid constructions. For this their aptitude in stone work and bas-relief stood them in good stead. At the same time they chose and elaborated those conventional Indian motifs that had as their basis recalcitrant spirals or related forms reminiscent of the Dong-So'n. While remaining in close contact with India Javanese art, as Stern has emphasized,¹ is profoundly original, the original quality expressing itself in a peculiar delicacy and grace, which gains in vitality at Prambanan after the earlier restraint induced by Indian influence is overcome. This peculiar quality of the art of Central Java I should attribute to the Dong-So'n genius.

Then there is that most characteristic and puzzling of Central Javanese motifs, the *kāla-makara* ornament, of which I think the implication for culture change has not as yet been adequately explained. Most likely the East Javanese craftsmen of the resurgence wished to give the motif a closer resemblance to the sun with which they then associated it.² But what caused it to assume the special character it has in Central Javanese art? For there, as Mme. de Coral Rémusat was among the first to notice,³ though morphologically Indian, the *makaras* usually face *outwards* and hence are in the Chinese, not the Indian, position. She also pointed out elsewhere⁴ that the Chinese *kāla* head (*t'ao t'ie*) of the Han period occupies the same dominant position as in Java, above toranas, niches, and windows. Now that we have archaeological evidence of actual Chinese settlement in Java in Han times it seems

¹ In L. Réau's *Histoire Universelle des Arts*, IV, *Arts Musulmans — Extrême Orient*, p. 193.

² Stutterheim, "The Meaning of the Kāla-makara Ornament," *I.A. & L.*, vol. iii.

³ "Animaux fantastiques de l'Indochine, de l'Insulinde et de la Chine," *BEFEO.*, vol. xxxvi, 1936.

⁴ *RAA.*, vol. viii, pt. 4, p. 246.

to me that this Chinese treatment of the Indian motif is best explained as the working of a Han element in the local genius.

The apparently Chinese landscape treatment so noticeable in the Panataran (East Java) reliefs is already traceable at Prambanan¹ and consequently may perhaps be ascribed to the Chinese spirit as also may be the rendering of many forms of Indo-Javanese mythical sculpture besides the *kāla-makara*. Certainly the tendency to accentuate the angles of the temple false storeys, though far less developed than in Cham towers, is greater than that generally found in India and Greater India and may therefore be attributable to the Chinese element in the local genius. But the style of the house roofs on Prambanan reliefs is reminiscent of the Dong-So'n.

CHAM ART

Though the Cham temples are usually set on elevations there is nothing comparable to the Khmer *phnom* tradition, nor does the developed pyramidal base or terrace construction enter into Cham architecture at any period. Proficiency in building with stone is not a Cham accomplishment, the temples being mostly of brick. The Indian *nāga* has only a minor place in Cham sculpture and the snake motif is exceptional in decoration, pointing to absence of an earlier snake cult. The medallion is never a favourite decorative motif, rosettes being little used.² In fact one finds no suggestion of the Older Megalithic in any aspect of Cham art.

On the other hand the stamp of the Dong-So'n and early Chinese genius is very marked. Quite the most remarkable and characteristic feature of Cham towers is the extreme accentuation of the angles of the upper stages, this being achieved by that very special Cham architectural element the *pièce d'accent*. Again, those Cham temples which have rectangular plans, such as Mi-sôn C₁, show the barrel roof of the Pallava *ratha* so modified into a saddle roof as to leave no doubt that its peculiar form is determined by the type of roof depicted on certain Dong-So'n bronze drums (Heger, Type 1) and surviving to-day among the Toraja of Celebes and the Bataks. Another striking feature, confined to the Đông-dưỡng Buddhist temples, are the tall ringed pylons. These suggest that the Chams treated the Indian *stupa* very much in the Chinese manner.

While, as in Java, decorative motifs are Indian (apart from some

¹ Ph. Stern, loc. cit., pp. 195, 201.

² Parmentier, op. cit., ii, pp. 247, 248.

borrowings from China and the Khmer art of the Bayon),¹ there is again a wonderful elaboration of foliage motifs. In these it appears to me that the Dong-So'n spirit is even more clearly recognizable than in Java. In the primitive Cham art,² as Parmentier has pointed out,³ the Cham craftsmen considered the decoration as primarily consisting of undulating forms, finishing in points. In the cubic art he notices a tendency to "une géométrisation plus grande",⁴ while in the secondary art he notices that the motifs now consist almost entirely of manuscript ss.⁵

The *kāla-makara* combination, when it occurs, as on the basement of Mi-sön A₁,⁶ has the *makaras* turned *outwards*, in Chinese fashion.

The Chams were fond of working in bas-relief, whenever opportunity offered, as in the finely carved *pièces d'accent*, but opportunities were restricted by lack of galleries and terrace walls. They also show a preference for sculpture in semi-relief (leading ultimately to the *kut steles*). Perhaps the proficiency in animal sculpture, shown by both Chams and Javanese, can be attributed to the Dong-So'n genius. And it seems possible that the Cham style of human sculpture, such as the Đông-düông Śiva,⁷ is determined by a genius not unrelated to that which accounts for the East Javanese relief style.

KHMER ART

In its most perfect expression, as seen at Angkor Wat (first half twelfth century A.D.) the local genius, as yet restrained under Indian influence, gives to Hindu architecture a grandeur of composition, an amplitude of proportion, and a harmony of line never attained in any purely Indian monument. A few decades later "on sent, dans l'art du Bâyon, une évolution dans le goût des Khmers, qui se tournent vers ce qui est grand, ample et fort plutôt que ce qui est harmonieux et parfait : cette évolution devait entraîner un certain relâchement dans l'exécution des détails et une

¹ Goloubew in *The Influences of Indian Art*, London, 1925, p. 119; Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

² M. Stern has proposed an entirely new chronology of Cham art (*op. cit.*, p. 238), but pending seeing his full results I here retain Parmentier's well known classification, which will suffice for our purposes. If Mi-sön A₁ is so comparatively late, as Stern supposes, the appearance with it of the recalcitrant spiral might imply the growing assertiveness of the Dong-So'n genius in favouring spiral motifs, rather than a borrowing from Java as Stern suggests (*ibid.*, p. 240).

³ *Op. cit.*, ii, p. 270, fig. 40.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, ii, p. 232.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pl. cxxix.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, ii, p. 237.

⁷ *Ars Asiatica*, iv, pl. xxix.

importance moins grande attachée à la perfection de l'appareil. Enfin, ce goût du grand a suscité une sorte de mégalomanie artistique, qui multiplie les monuments, exagère leur grandeur, et qui, rêvant d'effets de plus et plus audacieux, change parfois les plans en cours d'exécution."¹

In this graphic description M. Stern, without actually mentioning either "Older Megalithic" or "Dong-So'n", could hardly have conveyed more vividly an impression of the presence of the spirit of the former and the absence of that of the latter. Indeed, were it not that the observer usually approaches the Bayon imbued with Indian preconceptions, he might for the moment imagine himself—after first passing the giants' causeway, so suggestive of a megalithic avenue—in the presence of an array of huge statue-menhirs on some unusually elaborate Polynesian *ahu*. But we are in fact still within the limits of Indian thought-control, however profoundly modified in expression by another genius: The Bodhisattva Lokeśvara Samantamukha "who faces every direction" is merely a Buddhist substitute² for the Śaivite Devarāja of tantric origin,³ whose cult had such a strong appeal to the Khmers and was developed by them in such a specialized form as being so compatible with their previous ancestor worship. To this however, bearing in mind such features as their still Indian temple arrangement, we may say that they never fully returned as did the East Javanese.

So too the *nāga* balustrades, though symbolizing an Indian tradition,⁴ the fondness for the *nāga* motif especially in the later art, and Cheou Ta-kouan's report of the popular version of the Devarāja as a serpent spirit, would all seem to be due to the surviving impetus of an Older Megalithic snake cult such as in the guise of the feathered snake may have reached even to Mexico.

The earliest Primitive Khmer statues (sixth to seventh century A.D.) are small in size, mostly feminine and still *hanché* in the Indian manner. In the following century, though becoming somewhat stiff they continue to show a remarkably subtle modelling, and the facial features are still often near the Indian. Not until the ninth to tenth century (style of Koh Ker) is the definitive first period Khmer

¹ Ph. Stern, *Le Bayon D'Angkor*, p. 157.

² G. Coedès, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁴ P. Mus, "Angkor in the time of Jayavarman VII," *I.A. & L.*, vol. xi, 1937, p. 65.

sculpture fully formed. Now the characteristics of megalithic monumental sculpture are unmistakable. "La perfection du modelé cède devant une impression de grandeur, de force, de majesté, de dureté même. Puissance et sécheresse deviennent les caractères dominants. Les statues sont en général grandes et massives."¹ The face takes on a hard and rigid appearance, with straight joined eyebrows and double-bordered eyes and mouth.

The second period Khmer sculpture seems to have resulted from Buddhist influence, both of the Hīnayāna school (from subject Dvāravatī and later in consequence of the Ceylon revival) and of the Mahāyānist Bodhisattvas. In the Gupta reminiscence of the former, as in the Pāla style of the latter, the accent is on meditation. The Khmers dealt with a tendency so apparently incompatible with their own dynamism and vitality in the one obvious way—they exaggerated it. Eyes formerly cast down were closed and a once faint smile of mystic contemplation was enormously broadened.

Primitive Khmer decoration, unlike that of the arts actuated by the Dong-So'n genius, besides garlands, scrolls and other simple Indian motifs, favours lozenges, beadings, the lotus, draught-board patterns and flowers,² that is to say isolated motifs on a bare ground, such as indeed would most appeal to an Older Megalithic genius. Medallions are a marked feature of the early lintels.³ And after the period of the borrowing of complicated foliage designs of which I shall shortly speak, there again appears a tendency to the breaking up and isolation of motifs.

Similarly the delicate art of bas-relief sculpture at first made little appeal to the Khmers with their stress on the cold and monumental (though Indian influence led to the relief-carving of seventh century lintels). Thus large scale panorama, such as had been produced to perfection in Central Java nearly four centuries earlier, do not appear until twelfth century Angkor Wat, and then with what a difference in execution: in place of delicacy and refinement all is now energy and violence of movement, restricted however in well defined horizontal series so that nothing might mar the severely monumental aspect of the temple.

However, if the Khmers lacked the Dong-So'n element in their

¹ Ph. Stern in Réau's *Histoire Universelle des Arts* (IV), p. 231.

² Ibid., p. 224.

³ Parmentier, *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, p. 277.

own genius, they could hardly have escaped contact with the Dong-So'n moulded arts of Champa and Java. Without the charm lent by this enrichment, which took place in the eighth century and came mainly from the latter source, Khmer art would hardly have found a place among the world's greatest. But these loans, or those of them that persisted, as many did at least as late as Angkor Wat, naturally show increasing signs of being moulded by the local genius.

This borrowing is generally ascribed to Jayavarman II who came from Java in 802 A.D., and it was not confined to elements in which the Dong-So'n spirit prevails. Thus he is believed to have introduced temple-mountain construction and the cult of the Devarāja. That he probably did so seems logical because in Java Older Megalithic pyramid building evidently flourished and favoured the acceptance of Meru-type temples from India. But Jayavarman's introduction was really only a reinforcement of the old Khmer cult of the *phnom*, or natural sacred mountain, enabling it to take henceforth a leading place in Khmer architectural evolution. Indeed the pyramid of Phnom Bakhèng is largely natural.

What was really new to Cambodia was the accompanying introduction of the Central Javanese style of ornament.¹ This produced in the ninth to tenth century a rich foliage decoration, a greater liking for motifs based on spirals, *makaras* facing outwards in Chinese fashion (instead of inwards as previously), pediments carved in bas-relief of a new-found refinement and grace, while a variety of large figures were sculptured on the walls, most notable innovation being the gracious *apsaras*. These developments reached their climax in the once enigmatic temple of Banteai Srei, one of the summits of Khmer art.

Never mere imitators, the genius of the Khmers increasingly asserts itself in the handling of the borrowed material, e.g. foliage motifs tend to be broken up; the *apsaras*, without complete loss of charm, becomes more rigidly frontal and stylized, acquires a broadened smile and a coiffure ever more resplendent with medallion-like discs. For one cannot escape the fact that in a vital art like that of the Khmers, it is not the borrowed material, whether from India or elsewhere, but the character of the local genius that is decisive.

To emphasize this point, as well as to ensure strict objectivity

¹ Stern in Réau's *Histoire Universelle des Arts* (IV), pp. 220, 224, 235.

on a matter so fundamental to my thesis, I quote as follows the words with which M. Stern on p. 236 of Réau's *Histoire Universelle des Arts* (IV) epitomizes his general impression of Khmer art: "Rappelons, en terminant, qu'à travers une riche évolution où dominant tour à tour des tendances très diverses, l'art khmèr revient toujours au goût de l'aspect monumental et de l'ordre: géométrie des cités, vastes composition ordonnée et équilibrée de l'édifice, frontalité des statues en ronde-bosse, lignes horizontales des grands bas-reliefs."

I do not claim that local genius is responsible for every vicissitude in cultural evolution. It is sufficient if local genius, by manifesting through local inventiveness, or by moulding what is borrowed, *gives direction* to evolution. And by analysing the nature and working of each local genius I believe that I have formulated a theory which, despite evident imperfections and the impossibility of altogether avoiding over-simplification, accounts in general terms for the differentiation of Indo-Javanese, Cham, and Khmer art.

In conclusion I would briefly revert to the Indian factor and stress the importance of keeping it in proper perspective. M. Stern, while admitting the importance of a "local creative force and personality", has stated that the Indian share in the evolution of these eastern zone arts was the most active.¹ With this view, it will be appreciated, I am unable to concur. Certainly Indian culture did not play an entirely static part in that it was propagated by the Brahmins and others who brought it from India. But, had it shown the evolutionary activity that Stern claims for it (i.e. had its introducers shown an inventive capacity), then surely this would have been demonstrated in the western zone where it had a clear field and the Indian genius reigned supreme. Instead it remained content there to reflect the contemporary art of India. The fact would seem to be, therefore, that purely Indian art ran its evolutionary course, a course of which Indians may well feel proud, *in India*, not in Greater India.

The great arts of Java, Champa, and Cambodia were from the outset growing entities, accepting and incorporating Indian influences, at first from contact with more or less short-lived Indian settlements in West Java, Borneo, and Fu-nan, later from the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

advice tendered by gurus from India, but never merely imitating a contemporary Indian style. Though here and there, in the earlier art of the eastern zone, we may be struck by a predominantly Gupta, Pallava, or Pāla flavour, an exclusive preoccupation with the Indian in what is really Indo-Javanese, Cham, or Khmer art is only likely to mislead and give rise to futile controversy.

In this connection the warning of Dr. C. C. Berg, though given in special reference to a preoccupation with Indian dating when investigating Javanese literature, is worthy of more general application. There is a danger, he says "of being badly hampered in one's conclusions and even gravely deceived, because this attitude towards the question distracts attention from another which is much more important, viz. that of the exact nature of the influence and *the manner in which the Javanese reacted to it* (my italics)." ¹

POSTSCRIPT : SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR POLITICAL HISTORY

Recognition that Malayan and Sumatran art styles of the "Hindu period" are essentially the same (i.e. Indian, not Indo-Javanese), and the fact that, as pointed out by Nilakanta Sastri (*BEFEO*, xl, 2, p. 256), the good Sanskrit of the A.D. 775 Ligor inscription means only that a later stage of Indianization than that indicated by the seventh century Old Malay Sumatran inscriptions had by then been reached, removes all reason for postulating separate Sumatran and Peninsula states of Śrīvijaya. And with Javanese influence as well as genius excluded, except perhaps in minor degree, I can maintain no objection to grouping together the eighth century Palembang and Cāiṃ bronzes as representatives of an "art of Śrīvijaya". Of course, whether the location of Śrīvijaya city underwent removal and where it was finally situated are questions that require extensive archaeological investigation.

During the later period, probably beginning mid-ninth century, when it is agreed that Sumatra and Malaya (as San-fo-ts'i) were under Śailendra rule, the same cultural considerations deprive me of an argument in favour of locating the capital in the Peninsula (at Kadāram, probably in Perak since Kedah was Ilangāsogam) rather than in Sumatra (Śrīvijaya). However, they do not affect the main arguments for the Peninsula (at least during the eleventh and

twelfth centuries) arising from the Coġa inscriptions, evidence of Edrisi, etc.

The crucial period of Malaysian history around which controversy has raged is the hundred years from mid-eighth to mid-ninth century A.D. During that time it appears that the Śailendra empire both came into being and expanded to its fullest extent. Now it cannot be pretended that the bringing of Java under control of a power located in Malaya or Sumatra would immediately have resulted in reducing the vigorous culture of Java to the imitative level of Indianization prevailing in the western zone. But it can be stated beyond reasonable doubt that conquest of Cambodia by a power centred in the western zone, or the coming of Jayavarman II from some part of "Java" identified with the Malay Peninsula, would *not* have led to the strong influx of Indo-Javanese artistic and cultural influence that actually did take place. That, I think, is as decisive a piece of evidence for centring Śailendra rule in Java during this period as can be any evidence based on degree of probability. And it is in agreement with what is now the generally held view.

It would also now appear that Majumdar and I were mistaken in coupling a supposedly Indian campaign of conquest and an Indian origin of the Śailendras with the coming of the eighth century wave of Mahāyāna influence from India. This development probably formed no exception to the rule that Indian cultural influences came peacefully—at least to the eastern zone. Most likely a Javanese king voluntarily accepted the Mahāyānist faith. And the origin of the title Śailendra, at or even before that time, from the replacement of a local mountain deity cult by a cognate Indian religious concept, in somewhat the manner suggested by Przyluski (*JGIS.*, ii, p. 30), commends itself as being in accord with what a knowledge of prevailing conditions of culture change would lead us to expect. At the same time we must also note Coedès' theory of possible earlier derivation from the related Khmer cult of the *phnom* (*JGIS.*, i, p. 70).

The Śailendras, building on Sañjaya's initial conquests, then proceeded to extend their dominions. Perhaps the eventual Śaivite revival in Java took advantage of the Śailendra monarch's having removed (mid-ninth century?) his capital nearer to the Malacca Straits, or perhaps it was this revival that forced him to move to his still Mahāyānist dominions in the western zone. Anyhow, the

completely Indianized character of the culture and local genius in this region would militate against its absorbing much Javanese influence during the period of connection, as compared with receptive Cambodia. And the relatively unimpressive character of the remains of later Śailendra cities is what one would expect of the unevolving colonial Indian architecture of the western zone.

Text, Sources, and Bibliography of the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya

By EDWARD CONZE

THE *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra* is a religious document of the first importance. It carried *Huien-tsiang* through the Gobi desert,¹ was reproduced, in writing, on stones, in recitation throughout Asia from Kabul to Nara,² and formed one of the main inspirations of the Zen school, occupying in Buddhist mysticism about the same place the "*Mystical Theology*"³ of *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita* occupied in Christian. Unlike other very short *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, the *Hṛdaya* is of great philosophical interest. The *Svalpākṣara*, and other abbreviations,⁴ were designed to bring the benefits of *Prajñāpāramitā* within the reach of those unable either to study or understand it.⁵ The *Hṛdaya* alone can be said to have gone really to the heart of the doctrine. The historical analysis of its sources can contribute to the understanding of this *sūtra*, by restoring its component parts to their context in the larger *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*.

I

The text of the *Hṛdaya* even *in extenso* is short. The editions of *Max Müller*, *D. T. Suzuki*, and *Shaku Hannyo* obscure the progress of the argument, and the manuscripts and the *Chinese* translations throw light on the history and meaning of this *sūtra*. The *Hṛdaya*, as is well known, is transmitted in a longer form (about twenty-five ślokas), and a shorter form (about fourteen ślokas). The introduction and end of the longer form are left unnumbered, while, to facilitate reference, I have introduced numbered subdivisions in the short version of the *sūtra*. I have also marked off those parts

¹ Hwui Li, *The Life of Huien-tsiang*, trsl. Beal, 1914, pp. 21-2.

² Cf. e.g. M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 1928, 1935.

³ *Mystical Theology*, iii, ch. 4 and 5, in particular, afford a striking parallel to Section IV of the *Hṛdaya*.

⁴ This also applies to the Cambr. MS. Add 1554, which is called a *prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī*, but which consists chiefly of invocations, and is not the text discussed here.

⁵ MS. As. Soc. Bengal, 107578, leaf 2: *deśayatu bhagavan prajñāpāramitām svalpākṣarām mahā-puṇyām yasyāḥ śravaṇa-mātreṇa sarvā-sattvāḥ sarva-karmā-varaṇāni kṣapayisyanti*, etc.

of the *sūtra* which can be traced in the larger *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*. The notation of the MSS., etc., is explained below (p. 49).

¹Om namo bhagavatyai āryaprajñāpāramitāyāi^a.

Evam mayā śrutam. ekasmin samaye Bhagavān Rājagṛhe viharati sma Ḡḍhrakūṭa-parvate, mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghena sārdham mahatā ca bodhisattva-saṃghena^b. tena khalu punaḥ^c samayena Bhagavān^d gambhīrāvabhāsaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ bhāṣitvā^e samādhim samāpannaḥ. tena^e ca^f samayena^g Āryāvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo gambhīrāyaṃ prajñāpāramitāyaṃ^h caryāṃⁱ caramāṇa^j evaṃ vyavalokayati sma : 'pañca skandhās tāṃśca svabhāva-sūnyān vyavalokayati^k. atha^k-āyusmāñc-Chāripuro buddha-anubhāvena Āryāvalokiteśvaraṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvaṃ^l etad avocat : 'yaḥ kaścit kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā^m asyaṃⁿ gambhīrāyaṃ prajñāpāramitāyaṃ caryāṃ^o cartukāmas tena^p katham śikṣitavyam^q? 'evam ukta-Āryāvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo āyusmantam Śāriputraṃ etad avocat^r. yaḥ kaścid Chāripuro^s kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā asyaṃ^t gambhīrāyaṃ prajñāpāramitāyaṃ caryāṃ^u cartukāmas tenaivaṃ vyavalokitavyaṃ^v.

The short text condenses this into :—

²Āryāvalokiteśvaro ³bodhisattvo ⁴gambhīraṃ prajñāpāramitā-caryāṃ ⁵caramāṇo ⁶vyavalokayati sma.

^a So Nb Ne Ne Ni Ce Ti. — Cd : @śri-ārya — Nh : āryaśrī@ — Na omits bhagavatyai — Nd : Bhagavate āryaśrī@ — Ja om namaḥ sarva-jñāyaḥ.

^b Ca Ce gaṇena. ^c so Na Nb Ne Nd Ne Ca Cd.

^{d-e} so Na Nb Ca Cd Ce. — Ne : gambhīrāyaṃ prajñāpāramitāyaṃ avabhāsaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaḥ — Ne : gambhīrāyaṃ pravara-bhāṣan-nāma @@ — Jb : gambhīrāvasambodharī nāma.

^{f-g} tasmin samaye Nd Ne.

^h so Jb Ce. — Na Nb Ne khalu punaḥ — Cd punaḥ.

ⁱ Ca Cd Ce : gambhīrāvabhāsaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ. Ce om. gambh^o to evam. ^k Na Nb Ne Nd Ne om.

^{l-i} so Jb. — om. Ca Cd — Na Nb : pañca skandhān svabhāva-sūnyān vyavalokayati sma. — Ne : pañca skandha svabhāva-sūnya vyavalokitavya.

^k Ca Cd Ce atha khalv. ⁱ om. Jb ; Na ?

^{m-m} Ne Ne ? : ye kecit kulaputrā vā kuladuhitā vā.

ⁿ so Na Nb Ne Ca Cd. ^o @ tāyā cartu@ Ca Cd.

^p so Na Nb Ne Ca Cd — Nd Ne : cartukāmena.

^q Nd Ne : vyavalokitavyam.

^{r-r} Nd Ne : Avalokiteśvara-āha.

^s Ne om.

^t so Nb Ne Ca Cd.

^u Ne Ca Cd om.

^v Ca Cd Ce : śikṣitavyam yaduta — Nd repeats after vyavalokitavyam : evam ukta to : vyavalokitavyam.

² Atha-Ārya-Cg.

⁶ Cb : vyavalokayate.

I. ⁷pañca skandhās ⁸tāmśca svabhāva-sūnyān paśyati sma.

II. ⁹iha Śāriputra ¹⁰rūpaṃ sūnyatā sūnyataiva rūpaṃ ¹¹rūpān na prthak sūnyatā ¹²sūnyatāyā na prthag rūpaṃ ¹³yad rūpaṃ sā sūnyatā ¹⁴yā sūnyatā tad rūpaṃ. ¹⁵evam eva ¹⁶vedanā-samjñā-saṃskāra-vijñānam.

III. ¹⁷iha Śāriputra ¹⁸sarva-dharmāḥ sūnyatā-lakṣaṇā ¹⁹anutpannā aniruddhā ²⁰amalā avimalā ²¹anūnā aparipūrṇāḥ.

IV. ²²tasmāc-Chāriputra ²³sūnyatāyām ²⁴na rūpaṃ na vedanā na samjñā na saṃskārāḥ na vijñānam ²⁵na cakṣuḥ-śrotra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-manāmsi ²⁶na rūpa-śabda-gandha-rasa-spraśṭavya

P 43-47 =
S 136-141

⁷⁻⁸ om. Ne. — Nb Nc: pañca skandhān svabhāva-sūnyān vyavalokitavyam.

⁷⁻⁹ om. Nd.

⁸ Jb samanupaśyati — Cg: sma iti Ca: svabhāva-sūnyāḥ. katham pañca skandhāḥ svabhāva-sūnyāḥ? — Ce: svabhāva-sūnyāḥ. Katham svabhāva-sūnyāḥ?

⁹ iha om. Nb Nc Ne Ca Ce Jb ChT — Śāriputra om. Nb Nc Ne Ca Ce Jb.

¹⁰ om ChT 1, 2, 5, 6, 7—rūpaṃ sūnyam Nb Nc Ne Cb.

¹¹⁻¹² na rūpaṃ prthak sūnyatāyāḥ nāpi sūnyatā prthak rūpāt evam Ca.

¹³⁻¹⁴ om. Nb Nc Nd Ne Ti.

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ om. Nb.

¹⁶ Nc: vijñānāni sūnyāni. — Nd Ne: vijñānāni sūnyatā. — Jb: vijñānam ca sūnyatā — Ti: rnam par shes rnam stong paḥo.

¹¹⁻¹⁶ Instead Nb has: na rūpāt prthak sūnyatā na sūnyatāyā prthak rūpaṃ. vedanā sūnyā sūnyataiva vedanā. na vedanāyā prthak, etc., *in extenso* for all the five skandhas. After 16: ChT 1, 2, 5, 6 add: 度一切苦厄. Kumārajīva further adds the equivalent of P 39: Śāriputra yā rūpasya sūnyatā na sā rūpayati; yā vedanāyā sūnyatā na sā vedayati; etc., see below page 42.

¹⁷ For iha Na Nb Nc Nd Ca Ce Jb have: evam. — om. ChT — Na Nb: evam bhadantā — Ti: Shā riḥi bu de lta bas na.

¹⁸ Na Nb: svabhāva-sūnyāḥ alakṣaṇāḥ. Nd Ne: sūnyāḥ svalakṣaṇāḥ — Ca Cd: svabhāva-sūnyatā-lakṣaṇā.

¹⁹ Ca Cd Ce: ajātā — after aniruddhā Ne adds: acyutāḥ acalāḥ.

²¹ Ja? nonā — Ce: nonā — Jb: anonā — Ne: anyonyāḥ — Nb: anyatā. Ja? na paripūrṇā — Na Nb? Nd Ca Cd Jb: asaṃpūrṇāḥ — Ne Ce Cg: na saṃpūrṇāḥ — Ce: anyunā. After 21 Kumārajīva adds: 是空法非過去, etc. = P 40: (yā sūnyatā) nātītā nānāgatā na pratyutpannā. See below, page 41.

²² Na Nb Nd Ne Ca Cd Ce: tasmāt tarhi — Nc: evam bhadantā — Ce Cg: om. Śāriputra.

²³ Nc: sūnyāyām.

²⁵⁻²⁶ Na Nb Nc Ne Ca Ce Jb: na cakṣur na śrotram, etc., to: na dharma.

dharmāḥ ²⁷na cakṣur-dhātuh ²⁸yāvan na ²⁹mano-
vijñāna-dhātuh ³⁰na vidyā na-avidyā ³¹na
vidyākṣayo na-avidyākṣayo ³²yāvan na ³³jarā-
marañam na jarā-marāṇa-kṣayo ³⁴na duḥkha-
samudaya-nirodha-mārgā ³⁵na jñānam ³⁶na
prāptir na-aprāptiḥ.

V. ³⁷tasmāc-Chāriputra ³⁸aprāptitvāt bodhi-
sattvasya ³⁹prajñāpāramitām āśritya ⁴⁰viharaty
'cittāvarāṇaḥ. ⁴¹cittāvarāṇa-nāstitvād ⁴²atrasto
⁴³viparyāsa-atrīkrānto ⁴⁴niṣṭha-nirvāṇaḥ.

A I, 24-32 =
P 242-269 =
S ch. XIII

VI. ⁴⁵tryadhva-vyavasthitāḥ ⁴⁶sarva-buddhāḥ
⁴⁷prajñāpāramitām āśritya ⁴⁸anuttarāṁ samyak-
sambodhim ⁴⁹abhisambuddhāḥ.

S XIX fol. 293b

VII. ⁵⁰tasmājjñātavyam. ⁵¹prajñāpāramitā⁵²

²⁷⁻²⁹ Ca gives a list of all the dhātus — Na Nb: na cakṣudhātuh na rūpa-dhātuh na cakṣu-vijñāna-dhātuh; na śrotra-vijñāna-dhātuh, etc., all to: na manovijñāna-dhātuh.

³⁰ Na Nb Ne Ce Ce Cg Ch 1, 2, 5, 6 om. na vidyā. — Na Nb Ne om. na-avidyā — Na Nb Ne Ce Ca Ce Cg Jb ChT 1, 2, 5, 6 om. na vidyākṣayo — Ca Jb for na-avidyākṣayo give: na kṣayo, Ce na-akṣayo.

³³ Ne om. na jarāmarañam.

³⁰⁻³³ Na Nb: na-avidyākṣayo na saṃskārā-kṣayo, etc., all to: na jarāmarānaksayo.

³⁴ Nb Ne Ce: na duḥkha na samudaya, etc. After 34: Na Nb Ne add: na-amārgaḥ. — Na Nb Ne Ca Cd add: na rūpaṁ (= sva-rūpaṁ ? e.g. Prasanna-padā 264-5: tat-svarūpaṁ = śūnyatā and synonyms. svabhāva = bhāvasvarūpa).

³⁶ so Nb Ne Ca Cd Ce Jb ChT 8 Ti — Ja: na prāptitvam — Ne Nd ChT 1, 2, 5, 6: na prāptiḥ — ChT 9: na prāptitvam ca na-aprāptiḥ.

³⁷ tasmāt tarhi Śāriputra Na Nb Ne Nd Ne Ca Cd Ce Ti — Śāriputra also in ChT 8, 9 — Ja Ce ChT 1, 2, 5, 6 omit 37.

³⁸ Na Ne Nb ? Ne ? Nd ? Cg: aprāptitvāt — Jb: aprāptitvena — Cb: aprāptitva — Ja om. aprāptitvāt — Cd: aprāpti-yāvat — Ca: aprāptitvāprāptiryāvavat — Ce: na prāptirnaprāptiryāvāt — bodhisattvasya Ja — Cb Jb: bodhisattvānam — Nb Ne Na ? Ne: bodhisattvā mahasattvā — Ce: bodhisattva — Cg: bodhisattvā — Ti: Byang chub sems dpah rnam.

⁴⁰ See note 4 on p. 39. Nb: viharanti — Suzuki: viharato — Ca Ce: viharāṇis — 'cittāvarāṇaḥ om. Na Nb Ne Nd Ne Ca Ce Ti.

⁴¹ Ca Cd Ce: cittāmbanāṁ — Na Nb Ne Nd ? Ne: cittārambāṇa-mātratvāt — Ti: sems la sgrib pa med cing.

⁴² Na Nb Ne Ne: anuttarāṁ.

⁴⁴ Ja? tiṣṭha ? — Na Nb Ne Nd Ca: niṣṭhā — Ne om. niṣṭha — Ca Ce: nirvāṇam prāptnoti — Na Nb Ne Nd Ne: nirvāṇa prāptāḥ.

⁴⁵⁻⁴⁹ Ca Ce: tryadhva-vyavasthitair api samyaksambuddhair . . . @bodhiḥ prāptā. — Na Nb Ne Ne: . . . sarva-buddhā api . . . abhisambuddhā.

⁵⁰ Na Ne: tasmāt tarhi Śāriputra, etc. — Ne: tasmāt tarhi kulaputra, etc. — Ca Ce: etasmaj, etc. — Nd: tasmāt tarhi jñātavyam.

⁵² om. ChT 1. — ChT 2, 5, 6, 7: 是大神呪. — Ne Nd Ne Ce: om. mahā.

mahā-mantro ⁵³mahā-vidyā-mantro ⁵⁴nuttara-
mantra ⁵⁵samasama-mantraḥ ⁵⁶sarva-duḥkha-
praśamaṇaḥ ⁵⁷satyam amithyatvāt. ⁵⁸prajñā-
pāramitāyām ukto mantraḥ. ⁵⁹tadyathā ⁶⁰om
gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā.

Evam Śāriputra^a gambhīrāyām prajñāpāramitāyām caryāyām
śikṣhitavyām bodhisattvena^a ^b. Atha khalu bhagavān^c tasmāt^d
samādher vyutthāya Āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahā-
sattvāya^e sādhu sādhu adāt. sādhu sādhu kulaputra, evam etat
kulaputra^f evam etad^g gambhīrāyām prajñāpāramitāyām caryāyām
cartavyāṃ^g yathā tvayā nirdiṣṭam^h anumodyate sarvaⁱ-tathā-
gatair arhadbhīḥ^k. idam avocat bhagavān. āttamanā^l-āyusmān
Śāriputra^m Āryāvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvoⁿ mahāsattvas^r te ca
bhikṣavas te ca bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥⁿ sā ca sarvāvātī parśat
sa-deva-mānuṣa-asura-garuda^o-gandharvas^o ca loko Bhagavato
bhāṣitam abhyanandann iti.

iti ārya ^pprajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya^p samāptam.

⁵³ Na: sahā? — Ca Ce: vidyā-mantro — Ne: mahāmantraḥ. After 54
Na adds: asamā-mantraḥ.

⁵⁴ Cg om.

⁵⁵ Ne: asamā mantraḥ.

⁵⁶ Na? Nc Nd Ne Ca Cg Jb: sarva-duḥkha-praśamano mantraḥ.

⁵⁷ Ca Ce: samyaktvaṃ na mithyatvaṃ — Nc: samyaktva amithyātvā.

⁵⁸ @tāyukto Ca Ce. — Ne: @tāyayukto — Nc: @tāpūjāyukta?

⁵⁹ Ca Ce: bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam. —
Ne om. caryāyām.

^b Nc Ne add: mahāsattvena.

^c Ca Ce add: (t)asyām velāyām.

^d Nd Ne om: tasmāt — Ce: tasyās.

^e Jb: @asya @asya @asya.

^f om. Nc Ne.

^{g-g} so Jb; Ca Ce: evaṃ evaiṣa prajñāpāramitā.

^h Nc-Nd add: tad. ⁱ Jb om.

^k Nc Ce adds: samyaksambuddhaiḥ — Nd Ne Ni have iti for arhadbhīḥ.

^l Jb: ānandamanā.

^m Ca Ce omits āyusmān Śāriputra.

ⁿ⁻ⁿ Ne om.

ⁿ⁻ⁿ Jb om.

^o Jb Ce om.

^p so Na.

Nc: prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī pañcaviṃśatikāḥ nāma dhāraṇī

Nd: śrī-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya

Ne: pañca-viṃśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-nāma-dhāraṇī

Nh: śrī-pañca-viṃśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya

Ca: pañca-viṃśatikā Bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayam

Ce: pañca-viṃśatikā prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayam.

*Kumārajīva's*¹ translation is important, as by far the earliest version of the text which we possess. Below (p. 41–2) it will be shown to be of great assistance in restoring and tracing out the argument of the *sūtra* as it is likely to have appeared to its compilers.

While most of the variant readings are of a minor character and self-explanatory, two of them require comment. The textual tradition is particularly unsatisfactory in the two places where, as we shall see, there is a break in the source, and where the pieces are joined together.

The first concerns the passage of the argument from IV to V. The reading adopted here is well supported by the MSS. and gives a smooth transition from IV to V. It seems, however, to have developed only in the course of time. It is not attested by the two oldest documents. *Kumārajīva*, and the Chinese translations up to Ch 7 of A.D. 861 seem to have read, *na prāpti/tasmād aprāptit-vāt bodhisattva(sya)*, etc.² The Horyūji MS., written before A.D. 609, gives: ³⁶*na prāptitvaṃ* ³⁸*bodhisattvasya*. Something appears to have dropped out here. As far as one can judge from the available evidence, the *sūtra* originally was content to deny in regard to emptiness all the main categories of Buddhist analysis. Later a part of the tradition thought to guard against misunderstanding by denying also the negation of those categories that easily form opposites. Thus *Kumārajīva* and several of the MSS. know nothing of the clause ³⁰*na vidyā* ³¹*na vidyākṣayo*; in No. 34 *na-amārgah* is found only in a few later MSS.; and so with ³⁶*na-a-prāptiḥ*, which appears in the Chinese translations only quite late, after about 850, in Ch 8 and 9.

Obviously the rules of ordinary logic are abrogated in this *sūtra*. Contradictions co-exist in emptiness.³ By adding “no knowledge”, somebody may have wanted to make clear that in the dialectical logic of the *Prajñāpāramitā* a double negation does not make an

¹ This translation, strictly speaking, appears not to have been made by *Kumārajīva*, but by one of his disciples. See Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā Literatur*, 1932, p. 9, who refers to a Chinese catalogue. In the *Kao-seng-chuan*, a biography compiled in A.D. 519, the *Hrdaya*, is not mentioned in the list of translations attributed to *Kumārajīva*; cf. J. Nobel, *Stzb. pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 20, 1927.

² 亦無得。以無所得。

³ In No. 10 a term (form) is identified with the negation of that term (“emptiness”). Cf. also No. 10 with Nos. 23–4. Similarly, *Dionysius Areopagita* in *Myst. Theol.*, i, 2, teaches that with reference to the Absolute there is no opposition (*ἀντιρροπεια*) between affirmation and negation.

affirmation. The misconception might arise that “the extinction of ignorance” (= the negation of the negation of knowledge) might be equivalent to a positive entity, named knowledge. The addition, “no knowledge,” would guard against that misconception.¹ In the same way, in this kind of logic, one negation is not necessarily like another. *Na mārga* is not the same as *a-mārga*, nor is *na prāpti* the same as *a-prāpti*. *A-prāpti* is, like *prāpti*, one of the 79 dharmas of the *Sarvāstivādin*s.² In emptiness, i.e. in truth, there is no dharma. But while the *a-prāpti* is not a fact, *a-prāptitva*³ is the basis of the conduct of a bodhisattva, of one who strives for bodhi. This is one of the paradoxes in which the *sūtra* gives expression to the laws of spiritual life.

The second difficulty concerns the divergence between *cittāvaraṇa* and *cittālambaṇa* in No. 40.⁴ When one considers the peculiarities of Sanskrit MSS., the two words do not differ much. We may suppose that originally there was चित्तरम्बण. Now ल and र, and व and व are constantly interchanged in *Nepalese* MSS., and the म् is represented by an *anusvāra*. This would give रंवण. If the *anusvāra* is dropped, as often happens, a simple juxtaposition would lead to वरण. Although the reading *cittāvaraṇa* makes sense it is perhaps not the original reading.⁵ The normal *Chinese* equivalent for

¹ Although, strictly speaking, n. 35 *na jñānaṃ* would make it superfluous.

² In *Nagārjuna's* list of 119 *kuśala dharmas*, however, only *prāpti* is mentioned. *IHQ.*, 1938, p. 317, No. 16.

³ Cf. *LankS.*, p. 307, v. 326-7: *prāptir . . . karma-jā tṛṣṇā-sambhavā*.

⁴ In n. 40 the manuscript tradition does not cogently require the reading given in the text. *Ja* itself reads: *viharati cittāvaraṇa/cittāvaraṇa-*; *Kokio's* first copy read: *vaharaty citavaranaṇaḥ*, which he corrects into: *viharati citnavaraṇaḥ*. *Jb* has: *viharati cittāvaraṇaḥ/cittav@*. *Cc*: *viḥarya cita/avarṇa cita/a (varṇa-nā)-stiva*. But *Cg*: *viharatiya cityāvaraṇa*. Against this we have *Kumāraśīva's* translation. *Kumāraśīva* either read *viharati acitta@*, or he understood *cittāvaraṇaḥ* as *citta-avaranaḥ*. A consideration of the meaning of the passage decided me to follow *Suzuki* and *Hannya* in adding the *Avagraha*. If we take *viharati cittāvaraṇaḥ* literally, the passage would mean: “Because he has not attained, the Bodhisattva, based on the perfection of wisdom, dwells with thought obstructed. But only when obstruction is removed does he reach *Nirvāṇa*”. The idea that someone could be based on the perfection of wisdom, and yet dwell with thought obstructed, is quite alien to the larger *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. *A-cittāvaraṇaḥ* would, however, give a meaning well in keeping with the larger *sūtras*, as is shown on page 45.

⁵ The term *cittāvaraṇa* seems to be exceedingly rare. I have so far met it only in one other case. The first *Tibetan* translation of *Āryadeva's Cittaviśuddhi-prakaraṇaṃ* gives, in transliteration and translation, the title as: *cittāvaraṇaviśodhana-nāma-prakaranam*, cf. *Tōhoku Catalogue*, No. 1804, where *citta-varaṇa* is given as a variant.

āvaraṇa is 障. This occurs only in the 7th and 8th version of the sūtra, done in 861 and 856 respectively. The earlier versions, 1, 2, 5, and 6, done between 400 and 790, all have 心無罣礙. According to *Soothill*¹ 罣 means: "A snare, an impediment, cause of anxiety, anxious." The sign is related to a meaning "hung up", "suspended", and therefore seems to have more affinity to *ā-LAMB-ana* than to *ā-VAR-ana*.

II

The bulk of the *Hṛdaya*, from Sections I to V, is an instruction in the four Holy Truths, as reinterpreted in the light of the dominant idea of emptiness.² In the *Pañcaviṃśatisahasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (= P) on pp. 43–7, corresponding to *Śatasahasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (= S), pp. 136, 5–141, 13, we find a series of arguments, which *Haribhadra*, or whoever edited that recast version of the *Pañcaviṃśati*, considers as an instruction (*avavāda*) in at least the first three Truths. This passage is the source of the first part of the *Hṛdaya*. It is true that *Haribhadra* lived about A.D. 800–c. 800 to 300 years after the elaboration of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts—and that many of his divisions and interpretations are artificial and far-fetched. But much of his commentary goes back to much earlier times.³ In any case, in this instance *Haribhadra* merely follows the *kārikā* of *Maitreya-nātha*,⁴ whose *Abhisamayā-lankāra* would be about contemporary with the *Hṛdaya*, if both can be assigned to c. A.D. 350. Also, the soundness of *Haribhadra*'s diagnosis can be demonstrated from independent documents.

In the case of the *Third Truth*, of *nirōdha*, the text of the *Pañcaviṃśati* is very similar to Sections III and IV of the *Hṛdaya* :—

śūnyatā Śāriputra notpadyate na nirudhyate, na samkliśyate na vyavadyate, na hīyate na vardhate. na-atītā na-anāgatā na pratyutpannā. yā ca īdṛśī na rūpaṃ na vedanā . . . ; na pṛthivī-dhātur ; na cakṣur . . . ; na rūpaṃ na śabda ; na cakṣurāyātanaṃ na rūpāyatanaṃ ; na cakṣu-dhātur . . . ;

¹ *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 1937, p. 362b.

² The passage in *Aṣṭa*, ii, 34, *śūnyatāyām Kauśika tiṣṭhatā bodhisattvena mahā-sattvena prajñāpāramitāyām sthātavyam*, is given by *Haribhadra* as *catuḥ-satyā-ākāra*.

³ Cf. *Bu-ston* II, 158.

⁴ I.e. *kār* I, 21 : *pratipattau ca satyeṣu buddh-rahṇādisu triṣu . . . 22 ity avavādo daṣṭāmakah*.

*na-avidyotpādo na avidyā-nirodhaḥ na saṃskārotpādo . . . ; na duḥkhaṃ na samudayo na nirodha na mārgo ; na prāptir na-abhisāmaya.*¹ *na srotaāpannā na srotaāpatti-phalaṃ . . . na pratyekabuddhā na pratyekabodhiḥ ; na buddho na bodhiḥ.* evaṃ hi Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caran yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. (iti nirodha-satyāvavādaḥ.)

The *Hṛdaya* obviously gives an abbreviated version of this passage. It is noteworthy that on two occasions our documents preserve more of the original than the current text does. *Kumārajīva* leaves in : *na-atītā na-anāgatā na pratyutpannā*, using literally the same signs as in his translation of the *Pañcaviṃśati* itself.² The *Tun Huang* MS. Cb gives *na prāptir na-abhisāmaya*. It is possible that *Kumārajīva*'s addition suggests that the text about A.D. 400 contained it, while the *Tun Huang* addition may be a mere reminiscence of the numerous occasions in which *prāpti* and *abhisāmaya* are coupled in the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*.³

The truth of stopping, as *Haribhadra* sums up,⁴ means that *nirodha* is really emptiness, and therefore devoid of any dharma.

The case is less clear with the *second* truth, of *samudaya*. The *Pañcaviṃśati* passage reads :—

sa na rūpaṃ utpāda-dharmi vā nirodha-dharmi vā samanupaśyati . . . na rūpaṃ samkleśa-dharmi vā vyavadāna-dharmi vā samanupaśyati . . . punaraparaṃ Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo na rūpaṃ vedanāyāṃ samavasaratī⁵ -iti samanupaśyati. na vedanā saṃjñāyāṃ samavasaratīti samanupaśyati . . . na vijñānaṃ dharme samavasaratīti samanupaśyati. na dharmāḥ kvacid dharme samavasaratīti samanupaśyati. tat kasya hetoḥ ? na hi kaścīd dharmāḥ kvacid dharme samavasaratī prakṛtiśūnyatām upādāya. tat kasya hetoḥ ? tathā hi Śāriputra yā

¹ *Kumārajīva* in *Taishō Issaikyō*, viii, 223a, gives: 亦無智亦無得, for *nāprāptir nābhisāmaya*, just as in Nos. 35-6 of the *Hṛdaya*.

² *Taishō Issaikyō*, vol. viii, p. 223a.

³ E.g. Aṣṭa (= A) VIII, 187, 189 ; A XV, 303 ; and A I, 30, which we will show to be the source of a part of Section V.

⁴ Ed. Wogihara, 1935, p. 32. *nirodhe śūnyatāyāṃ utpāda-nirodha-saṃ kleśa-vyavadāna-hāni-vṛddhy-ādi-rahitāyāṃ na rūpaṃ yāvan na-avidyotpādo a na-avidyā-nirodho na buddho na bodhir iti.*

⁵ Up to this point the *Sāgaramati*, in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 263, gives a close parallel to this passage. Instead of *samavasaratī* the terms *samsrjyate* and *ramati* are used there. In *Prasannapadā*, ch. 14, we find the arguments of the *Mādhyamika* against the real existence of *saṃsarga*. The chief point is that *saṃsarga* implies *anyathva* or *prthaktva*, and that is not a real fact.

rūpasya śūnyatā na tad rūpaṃ . . . (tat kasya hetoḥ ? tathā hi yā rūpa-śūnyatā na sā rūpayati . . . yā . . . vedayati ; . . . samjānīte . . . ; abhisamkaroti ; . . . vijānāti. tat kasya hetoḥ ?) *tathā hi Śāriputra na-anyad rūpaṃ anyā śūnyatā. na-anyā śūnyatā anyad rūpaṃ. rūpaṃ eva śūnyatā śūnyatāiva rūpaṃ. na-anyā vedanā anyā śūnyatā . . .* iti samudaya-satya-avavādaḥ.

The *Hṛdaya* reproduces only the substance of the last two sentences of this passage. But *Kumārajīva* also gives the sentences marked in (), preceding this, and that again literally in the same words as in his translation of the *Pañcaviṃśati*.¹ It is noteworthy that the *Chinese* and *Tibetan* translations, and three of the MSS., remain close to the *Pañcaviṃśati* text in that they have only two clauses, omitting either Nos. 10–11 or Nos. 13–14.²

But how is this argument connected with the truth of origination ? As interpreted by the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the truth of origination means³ that form, etc., considered as the cause of ill, are really identical with⁴ emptiness, not separate from it. In other words, in reality there is no origination.⁵

As for the *first truth*, of ill, *Kumārajīva* was well aware that Section I referred to it, as is shown by his addition, “and so we go beyond all suffering and calamity (obstruction).”⁶ Anyone familiar with the thought of the *Prajñāpāramitā* knows that the connotations of the term *vyavalokayati* point in the same direction. In *Aṣṭa* xxii, pp. 402–3, for instance, it is explained that a Bodhisattva, endowed with wisdom, “looks down” in the sense that he surveys the sufferings of beings with compassion. In the

¹ *Taishō Issaikyō*, vol. viii, p. 223a.

² *Kumārajīva's* 色即是空, etc., does not translate Nos. 13–14, but Nos. 10–11. In other places the phrase is also used to render *rūpaṃ eva śūnyatā śūnyatāiva rūpaṃ*; e.g. *Taishō Issaikyō*, viii, 221c = P 38; 223a = P. 45.

³ *Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā*, p. 32: *samudaye śūnyatā hetu-bhūta-rūpādayor avyavirīkṭatvena* (= *a-prthaktvena*) *rūpādi na samudaya-nirodha-samkleśa-vyavadāna dharmī iti*.

⁴ The formula of Nos. 13–14 is designed as a parallel to the classical formula of the *satkāyadr̥ṣṭi*, which is the chief cause of becoming, cf. e.g. *Atthasālinī*, p. 353: *idh'ekacco rūpaṃ attato samanupassiyati. yaṃ rūpaṃ so aham, yo ahaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ ti, rūpaṃ ca attāṃ ca advayaṃ samanupassiyati*. In Section II of this *sūtra*, *śūnyatā* takes the place which *ātman* occupies in the *satkāyadr̥ṣṭi*.

⁵ And therefore as in the *Pañcaviṃśati* passage, *utpāda*, *samkleśa*, *samsāra*, which are all synonyms of the world viewed as originated.

⁶ There is no trace of this addition in any Sanskrit document, and it may have been made in *Central Asia*, from where *Kumārajīva's* text is said to be derived.

traditional formula of the first Truth *duḥkha* is equated with the *pañcupādāna-skandhā*. But what, according to the *Prajñāpāramitā*, is the real fact or truth about the *skandhas*? That they are empty in their own being. Thus, if *duḥkha* = *skandhā*, and if *skandhā* = *svabhāva-sūnyā*, then *duḥkha* = *svabhāva-sūnya*.¹ The compassion of a Bodhisattva, which at first has suffering beings as its objects, continues to grow even when the beings are replaced by objects more true to reality—first a group of *skandhas* or a procession of *dharma*s, and finally by emptiness, or no object at all.²

In the section dealing with the *duḥkha-satya*, the *Pañcaviṃśati* expresses this idea more elaborately:—

Śāriputra: katham yujyamāno Bhagavan bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyām yukta iti vaktavyaḥ? *Bhagavan*: iha Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo rūpa-sūnyatāyām yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ . . . etc., list as in Section IV to jarā-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-duḥkha-daurmanasyopāyāsa-sūnyatāyām yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. Punaraparam Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyām carann adhyātma-sūnyatāyām yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ . . . yāvat para-bhāva-sūnyatāyām yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. evaṃ hi Śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo prajñāpāramitāyām carann āsu sarvāsu sūnyatāsu yukto yukta iti vaktavyaḥ. sa ābhiḥ sūnyatābhi prajñāpāramitāyām caran na tāvad bodhisattvo mahāsattvo yukta iti vaktavyo 'yukta iti. Tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi na sā rūpaṃ . . . yuktam iti vā ayuktam iti vā samanupaśyati. iti duḥkha-satya-avavādaḥ.

The truth of ill thus means³ that in their essential being the *skandhas*, considered as a result of craving and as essentially ill,

¹ In the *Abhidharma*, *sūnya* is one of the four equivalents of *duḥkha*. It is there explained as the negation of *mamagrāha* and *ātma-dṛṣṭi*. *AK.*, vii, 13. Now, according to the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 38, the *śrāvakas* contemplate the sixteen modes or aspects of the four Truths as antidotes to *ātma-darśana*, and the Bodhisattvas as antidotes to *dharma-darśana*. Then in the case of the latter *sūnya* would mean *svabhāva-sūnya*, instead of *anātmīya*.

² *sattva-ārambaṇa*, *dharma-ārambaṇa*; *an-ārambaṇa*. *Akṣayamati sūtra* in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 212, 12 sq.; cf. also *Pitṛputrasamāgama* in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 259, 10 sq., *Upālipariprechā* in *Prasannapadā*, xii, 234, the *Pañjika*, pp. 486-493, on *Bodhicāryavatāra*, ix, 76-8, and *Madhyamakavatāra*, pp. 9-11, *Muséon*, 1907, pp. 258-260. These passages form the context into which Section I of the *Hṛdaya* is to be placed, and taken together they form an illuminating commentary to it.

³ *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, p. 32: *duḥkhe phala-bhūta-rūpādi-sūnyatā prajñāpāramitāyos tathatā rūpatvād aikātmyam iti*.

are identical with emptiness. In actual reality, the fact of ill cannot maintain itself against the fact of emptiness.¹

From the printed text of the *Pañcaviṃśati* it appears that the *fourth truth*, of the Path, is not treated in this passage, and *N. Dutt*² is explicit in drawing this conclusion. *Haribhadra*, however, in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*³ takes it that the sentences following *iti nirodha-satya-avaśādaḥ*⁴ do not treat of the *Buddha-ratna*, as the printed text suggests, but of the Path. Section V of the *Hṛdaya* is, however, not based on that passage. The reason may be that the tradition on the attribution of this passage was somewhat confused, and also that the account of the Path given there did not go to the bottom of the question, and lost itself in comparative side-issues. We have to look for the source of Section V elsewhere.

The end of the first chapter of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā* (= A) is devoted to a long argument, which according to *Haribhadra* deals with *niryāṇa*, going forth, on the last three stages of a Bodhisattva's career.⁵ The authors of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* seem to have been aware that they deal there with the very core of their teaching, and each successive version labours to bring out the idea more clearly. The *Śatasahasrikā* remodels the account of the *Aṣṭa* to a greater extent than it usually does, and the *Pañcaviṃśati*, what is still more unusual, has recast it again, and made some additions of its own.⁶

In its Section V the *Hṛdaya* at first follows step by step the

¹ *Madhyamaka-kārikā*, xxiv, 21: *anityam uktaṁ duḥkham hi tat svābhāvye na vidyate. Prasannapadā*, xii, p. 234. *tasmāt svabhāvato na santi duḥkhādīnīty avasīyate. aṭha viparyāsa-mātra-labdhatmasattākāyā duḥkhādi.*

² *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, etc., 1930, p. 228, "as the mārga has no place in this interpretation of the āryasatyas, the *Prajñāpāramitā* omits it."

³ *Ed. Wogihara*, 1935, p. 32.

⁴ I.e. P 47, 8-49, 10.

⁵ *Kārikā*, i, 72, 73 . . . *niryāṇaṁ prāpti-lakṣaṇaṁ/sarvākārajñatāyāṁ ca niryāṇaṁ mārga-gocaraṁ/niryāṇa-pratipaj jñeyā seyam aṣṭavidhātmikā*. Cf. E. Obermiller, *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, 1936, pp. 185 sq. *Niryāṇa* is, in the *Abhidharma* tradition, one of the four synonyms of *mārga*, cf. *Abhidharmakośa*, vii, 13, page 32: 4. *nāiryāṇika* — *atyantaṁ niryāṇāya prabhavati* (*Vyākhyā*, p. 626, 26), *sortie définitive*, parce qu'il faut passer au delà d'une manière définitive. Also *Pañcaviṃśatī*, i, 118.

⁶ P 265, 6-22, is absent in Ś xiii, and so is P 266, 5-21.—The only other substantial addition to the *Śatas.*, in the printed portion of the *Pañcav.*, is on pp. 149, 14-150, 16, where it is due to a desire to maintain a scheme which cannot be read into the existing *Śatas.* text.

argument of the larger *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, which thus provide an excellent commentary to its somewhat cryptic brevity.

(1) First, there is no attainment in actual fact. Attainment implies *abhinirvṛti* and duality, and neither of these exists in reality.¹

(2) Secondly, there is no desire, on the part of the Bodhisattva, for any attainment. The argument begins with a definition of the Bodhisattva, and proceeds to show that he does not *wish* for an attainment.²

(3) Then follows a discussion on "relying on".³

(4) Then, corresponding to *Hṛdaya* No. 40, *viharati*, comes the point that *ayam bodhisattvo mahāvattvo viharaty anena prajñāpāramitā-vihāreṇa*.

(5) Here the literal correspondence breaks down, and the *Hṛdaya* employs terms not directly used in the larger account. The larger *sūtras* proceed to discuss the dialectics of a bodhisattva's mental activity (*manasikāra*), which, if *Haribhadra's* interpretation⁴ can be trusted, is very much akin to what is said in the remainder of Section V. It would take too long to show this in detail.

In any case, the terms used in the second part of Section V are closely connected with *mārga*. That is obviously so with *niṣṭha* and *nirvāṇa*. It is, however, perhaps worth mentioning that the cognition of the uncovered thought, of the *cittam na-āvaranaiḥ samyuktam na visamyuktam*, is placed by the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* under *mārga-satya*,⁵ and that *pratipatti*, the third *ākāra* (mode, aspect) of *mārga*, is defined as *cittasya-aviparyāsa-pratipādana*.⁶

At first sight one would be inclined to think that Section VII, the passage dealing with the perfection of wisdom as a mantra, is

¹ *Haribhadra*, i, 10, 6, *prāpti-niryāṇam* = A I, 24, 16-27, 6 = P 242, 13-256, 9 = Ś xiii, 1635, 13 sq. MS. Cambridge Add 1630, to fol. 98.

² *Haribhadra*, i, 10, 7, *sarvākārajñatā-niryāṇam* = A 27, 7-31, 9 = P 256, 7-263, 17 = Ś MS. fol. 98-137. — P 260: *Subhūti: na-aham anutpannasya dharmasya prāptim icchāmi, na-apy abhisamayaṁ*.

³ *Haribhadra*, i, 10, 8, *mārga-niryāṇam* for (3) to (5) = A I, 31, 10-32 = P 263, 18-269, 6 = Ś MS. fol. 137b-144b. — *Aṣṭa*, p. 31. *prajñāpāramitāiva sarva-yānikī sarva-dharma-anisṛitātayā sarva-dharma-anisṛitā pāramitā ca*.

⁴ *Aṣṭa*, 31, 18. *Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā*, p. 125: e.g. *nanu manaskāras cetasa ābhoga ālambane citta-dhāraṇa-karmakāḥ. prajñāpāramitā-vihāras ca tad-viparīta-svabhāva*. Cf. also to A 32, 7, cf. p. 127, 26, *manasikāreṇa aviparyāsa pravṛttitvād*. The trembling is alluded to in *Aṣṭa*, p. 31, 15-16.

⁵ P 121, 5-123, 5 = S 490, 14-503, 5.

⁶ Ed. *Wogihara*, p. 137.

a later addition, due to the influence of *Tantrism*. One must, however, bear in mind that we can trace in the *Niddesa* and in the *Pali* commentaries an old tradition, according to which *paññā* is called *mantā*, a term understood there as the feminine of *manto*, *mantra*.¹ Then there is the term *vidyā*. In the *dharmacakkapavattana-vaggo* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, which, as we will see, embodies some of the traditions forming the background of the *Hṛdaya*, *vijjā* is equated with a knowledge of the four Truths.² In other contexts, however, the term shades off into meaning a kind of secret, mysterious lore of magical potency which can be compressed into a magical formula, a spell. What is really new in *Tantrism* is merely the stress laid on the belief that all the means of salvation can be compressed into the words of a short formula.³

The *Śatasahasrikā*, in chapter xix,⁴ gives a close parallel to the beginning of Section VII. The only difference is that the term *vidyā* is used instead of *mantra*. The parallel is all the more impressive, in that VII is also in the *Śatas*, coupled with VI, although VI here does not precede but follow it.⁵

Śakra: mahāvidyeyam bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramitā. anuttareyam vidyā bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramitā. asamasa-meyam vidyā bhagavan yad uta prajñāpāramitā. Tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi bhagavan prajñāpāramitā sarveṣāṃ kuśalānām dharmānām āhārayitrī. *Bhagavan*: evam etat Kauśika evam etat. mahāvidyeyam Kauśika . . . yad uta prajñāpāramitā. Tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi Kauśika ye te'bhūvann atīte dhvani tathāgatā . . . te enām vidyām āgamyā anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhā. ye 'pi te bhaviṣyanty anāgate . . . ye 'p te etarhi daśadig lokadhātuṣu tathāgatā . . . tiṣṭhanti dhṛyante yāpayanti, te 'py enām vidyām āgamyā anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhā.⁶

¹ *Niddesa* ii, 497. Dh-A iv, 93. Sn-A 204, 549. Vv-A 262.

² *SaṃyN.*, v, p. 430. *yaṃ kho bhikkhu dukkhe nānam dukkha-samudaye nānam . . . ayam vuccati bhikkhu vijjā. Ettāvata ca vijjāgato hoti.*

³ E.g. *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 270. *ayam mantrarājo buddhatvam dadāti, kim punar anyāḥ siddhayaḥ?*

⁴ MS. Cambridge Add 1630, fol. 293b. Corresponds to A III, 73 sq.

⁵ *Kumārājīva*, by omitting No. 52, is again nearer to the presumed original of this passage.

⁶ Here again there is an allusion to the four Truths in that the second part of the quotation is modelled on the classical formula, which, in the *Sacca-Saṃyutta* (*Sama*) N v m 422-4) runs as follows: *yo hi loci bhikkhave atītam addhānam*

This statement according to which the perfection of wisdom is a *vidyā*, and, as it were, the mother of the Tathagatas, occurs with slight variations once more in the same chapter of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*. The other passage¹ contains the parallel to No. 56 of the *Hṛdaya*.

We have thus been able to trace roughly nine-tenths of the *Hṛdaya* to the larger *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras. We can, I think, draw the conclusion that the *Hṛdaya* was originally intended as a restatement, for beginners,² of the four holy Truths,³ followed by a few remarks on the method of bearing this teaching in mind and on the spiritual advantages of following it.

This analysis permits us to see the *Hṛdaya* in its historical perspective. It is the *dharma-cakra-pravartana* sūtra of the new dispensation. It is the result of 800 years of continuous meditation on the tradition concerning the first turning of the wheel of the law. In the literature of the second turning of the wheel of the law⁴ the *Hṛdaya* is meant to occupy the same central and fundamental

arahanto sammā-sambuddhū yathābhūtaṃ abhisambujjhimsu, sabbe te cattāri ariya-saccāni yathābhūtaṃ abhisambujjhimsu . . . anāgataṃ addhānam . . . etarhi. . .—Each branch of Buddhist thought rephrased this formula according to its needs. The *Mantrayāna*, for instance, in *Saṅhyaṇ Kamahāyāna*, v. 3, says of the Buddhas of the past, present, and future:—

*tais ca sarvair imaṃ vajraṃ
jñatvā mantravidhiṃ param
prāptvā sarvajñatā virāṭh
bodhimūle hy alakṣaṇā.*

The thought itself forms an essential part of the tradition on the first turning of the wheel of the law, cf. e.g. *Lal. Vist.*, xxvi, p. 418 (= *Samy.N.*, v, p. 422): *iti hi bhikkhavo yāvā eva me eṣu catuṣv āryasatyēsu yoniso manasī kurvato evaṃ tripari-vartaṃ dvādaśākāraṃ jñāna-darśanam utpadyate na tāvā ahaṃ bhikkhavo 'nuttarāṃ samayaksambodhiṃ abhisambuddho'smi iti pratyajñāsiṣaṃ, na ca me jñāna-darśanam utpadyate. yataś ca me bhikkhavo eṣu catuṣv āryasatyēsu . . . jñāna-darśanam utpannam, akopyā ca me cetovimuktiḥ prajñā-vimuktiś ca sākṣāt kṛtā. tato 'haṃ bhikkhavo 'nuttarāṃ samayaksambodhiṃ abhisambuddho'smi iti pratyajñāsiṣaṃ.*

¹ The other passage is A III, 54-5 = Ś xviii, fol. 280a-281b.

² The connotations of *avavāda* can be gathered from *Sūtrālamkāra*, ch. xiv, and from *Buddhaghosa's* definition, *Samantapāsādikā*, v, p. 982: *api ca otiṇṇe vā anotiṇṇe vā paṭhama-vacanam ovādo, punapunnam vacanam anusāsane ti.*

³ There are other instances of a *Mahāyānistīc* reinterpretation of the four Truths. Cf. the *Dhāyāyitamuṣṭi sūtra*, quoted in *Prasannapadā*, p. 298, cf. *Prasannapadā*, ch. 24. *Lankavatāra sūtra*, p. 299, v. 260, is short enough to be quoted: *cittasya duḥkha satyaṃ samudayo jñāna-gocarah/dve s: ye buddhabhūmiś ca prajñā yatra pravartate.*

⁴ *Aṣṭa*, ix, p. 203, states expressly: *dvitīyam baledaṃ dharmacakra-varṇanam Jambūdvīpe paśyāma iti.*

position which the *dharma-cakra-pravartana sūtra* occupies in the scriptures of the first turning.¹

The *Prajñāpāramitā* texts are so elusive to our understanding, because they are full of hidden hints, allusions, and indirect references to the pre-existing body of scriptures and traditions circulating in the memory of the Buddhist community at the time. They are more often than not an echo of older sayings. Without the relation to the older sayings they lose most of their point. We at present have to reconstruct laboriously what seemed a matter of course 1,500 years ago.

III

Although I have added in the bibliography all the items known to me, I do not think that I have covered the whole ground. Nevertheless, a list of editions, manuscripts, and translations is necessary for the understanding of the preceding pages, and the remainder may be a small contribution to a bibliography of Buddhist literature which would be a great help to the student of this vast subject.

SANSKRIT Editions

1. Max Müller, *Buddhist Texts from Japan*. Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, vol. I, part iii. The ancient palm-leaves containing the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra* and the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī*, ed. F. M. Müller and B. Nanjio, 1884.
Both short and long text. The edition is based on MSS.: Ja Jb and Ca.
2. Shaku Hannya. The *prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra*, Sanskrit and Tibetan texts (+ some notes). *The Eastern Buddhist*, 2, 1922-3, pp. 163-175.
The text is the same as MS. Jb.

¹ The *Hṛdaya* abounds in allusions to the traditions as laid down in the various *dharma-cakra-pravartana sūtras*. In the *dharmma-cakka-paravartana vagga* of *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (preserved also in Tibetan mdo XXX, and in Chinese T 109), we have first a statement of the four Truths, followed (p. 426) by a passage on *dhāraṇa* (equivalent to *mantra*), and a warning that no other truth of ill, etc., is possible. The end of the *vagga* is similar to *Hṛdaya* No. 57: (p. 430) *idaṃ dukkhaṃ ti bhikkhave tathā* (= *saccam, satyam*) *etaṃ avitatham etaṃ amaññatatham etaṃ* (corresponds to *amūḥyatvāt*). *Sāriputra's* position in the *Hṛdaya* gains point from the tradition common to all schools that *Sāriputra* alone was capable to turn the wheel of the law after the *Tathāgata* (e.g. Sn 557; MN III, 29; Mil. 362; Divy. 394), and from the statement in the *Saccavibhaṅgasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* 141: *Sāriputto, bhikkhave, pahoti cattāri ariyasaccāni viṭṭhārena ācikkhitum*, etc. But it would be tedious to continue. Those who wish to follow up this suggestion will find a list of the chief versions of the *dharma-cakra-pravartana sūtra* in E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke*. 1932. p. 54.

3. D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, iii, 1934, p. 190. *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 1935, p. 27. (Short text)—reprinted in J. Tyberg, *Sanskrit Keys to the Wisdom Religion*, 1940, p. 146.

Manuscripts

Nepalese = N.

- Na: India Office No. 7712 (1). Long text. 35 lines. Followed by a poem of 8 lines. Nepali characters. From Hodgson collection.
- Nb: MS. Cambridge Add 1485. Long text. A.D. 1677. Ornamental Lantsa, fol. 16-18.
- Nc: MS. Bodl. 1449 (59), fol. 74v-75v. Long text. Newari. Hodgson MS. of A.D. 1819. Carelessly written.
- Nd: London Royal Asiatic Society, Hodgson Collection, c. 1820. Cowell and Eggeling, No. 79 V. fol. 15-16b. Long text. Corrupt.
- Ne: Cambridge Add 1553, fol. 4 to 7b. Long text. Very carelessly written. Illustrated by picture of four-armed prajñāpāramitā.
- Nf: Calcutta As. Soc. Bengal B 5 (35). Newari.
- Ng: Calcutta As. Soc. Bengal B 65 (10).
- Nh: Fragment, only first six lines: Cambridge Add 1164 2 II.
- Ni: Société Asiatique, MS. No. 14, fol. 18b, l. 4-19b, l. 5. No. 21. Long text, cf. *JAs* 1941-2 (1945).

Chinese = C.

- Ca: From a Chinese blockprint. Printed in M. Müller, pp. 30-2.
- Cb: Text transcribed into Chinese characters. Found in Tun Huang. Taishō Issaikyō, No. 256, ed. in T. Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā Literatur*, 1932, pp. 44-50. Cb has an introduction from K'u-ei-chi, Hiuen-tsiang's disciple, and it may have been Hiuen-tsiang's text. It contains many incorrectnesses of language, and one long repetition (i.e. No. 31 to No. 40 occur twice). (Short text.) Stein Collection No. S 2464.
- Cc: Short text, found on stone in Iasaktu, Mongolia (near Kharbin). Prior to A.D. 1000. Ed. N. D. Mironov. The prajñāpāramitā-hrdaya as an inscription. *Journal of Urusvati*, 1932, pp. 73-8. The text, Sanskrit in Sino-Mongolian pronunciation, is quite undecipherable after No. 43. It agrees closely with Ja.
- Cd: Long text, from a bell at Peking, now in Dairen. Mironov, p. 78. Incomplete. Very close to Ca.
- Ce: Text in Feer's (cf. F1) polyglot edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Mongol, Manchu). Cf. Bibl. Inst. de France 3542. Xylograph. Cf. *JAs.*, Oct.-Dec., 1924, p. 335—printed in L. de Milloné, *Quelques mots sur les anciens textes sanskrits du Japon, Actes du sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1883, Leyde, iii, 193-4, as "Une recension, corrigée par lui-même (Feer), du texte sanskrit qu'il avait comparé à celui du Kandjour".
- Cf: Stein collection Ch 00330. Sanskrit text and Chinese transliteration in alternate columns. Script later than c. A.D. 800.
- Cg: Bibl. Nationale 62 no. 139. Pelliot Sogdien, in: E. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens*, Paris 1940, pp. 142-3. 'Copie Barbare.' Short text.

Japanese = J.

- Ja: MS. which came in A.D. 609 to the Horūji Temple = MS. Tokyo Imp. University No. 31 ? Short text.
- Jb: This MS. was brought to Japan in the ninth century by Yeun, disciple of Kukai. The eighth copy of it, of 1880, printed in M. Müller, pp. 51-4.

CHINESE TRANSLATIONS

- Ch 1 = Taishō Issaikyō (= T) 250. Short text. Mo-ho-pān-zo-po-lo-mi-tā-ming-chen-cing Great-perfection-of-wisdom-great-knowledge-divine sutra; trsl. Kumārajīva (or one of his disciples, cf. p. 38, n. 1), c. 400. Text from Kucha.
- Ch 2 = T. 251, trsl. Hsien-tsiang 649. Short text. This is the standard translation. Ch 2 agrees with Ch 1 with the following exceptions: at No. 7 a different character for "skandha" is used; two additions (after No. 9 and 21 respectively) are omitted. No. 52 is not omitted.
- (Ch 3: trsl. Bodhiruci 693. From South India. Lost.)
- (Ch 4: trsl. Śikṣānanda, c. 700. Lost.)
- Ch 3 and 4 are mentioned in T 2154, vol. lv, pp. 569c and 566ab, a catalogue of 730.
- Ch 5 = T 253, trsl. Dharmachandra (?) 741. Long text, from Eastern India, according to T 2157, vol. lv, 878b and 893c. Agrees closely with Ch 2.
- Ch 6 = T 253, trsl. Prajñā 790. From Kashmir. Long text. Agrees verbally with Ch 2 after No. 9.
- Ch 7 = T 253, trsl. Prajñācakra 861. Long text from Central Asia. Shows a number of small variations from Ch. 2.
- Ch 8 = T 255, trsl. Fa-tcheng 856. Long text from Tibet, found in Tun Huang. Differs from Ch 2 more than Ch 7 does. Agrees with Ti.
- Ch 9 = T 257, trsl. Shih-hi (Dānapāla ?), c. 1000. Long text from Udyāna. Differs from Ch 2 in a great many details.

TIBETAN TRANSLATION = Ti

Trsl. Vimalamitra. Bhagavati-prajñāpāramitā-hrdaya. Long text. Otani catalogue No. 160, Na 22. Tohoku Catalogue No. 21. Ka 144b-146a. Sher phyin xxi, 13 = Rgynd xi, 13.

MONGOL TRANSLATION

- (a) Feer's polyglot edition. Cf. L. Feer, *Tableau de la Langue Mongole*, Paris, 1866, appendix.
- (b) Collection of Schilling van Canstadt. Bibl. de l'Institut de France, cf. *T'oung Pao*, xxvii, 1930. No. 3543-No. 3588, li, fol. 224r-225v.

MANCHU TRANSLATION

Feer's polyglot edition.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

- E 1: S. Beal, from Ch 2.
(a) *JRAS.*, New Series, i, 1865, pp. 25-9.
(b) *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, 1871, pp. 282-4.
- E 2: F. M. Müller, from the Sanskrit.
(a) In his edition.
(b) *S.B.E.*, 49, 2, 1894, pp. 153-4.
- E 3: Shaku Hannya, *Eastern Buddhist*, ii, 3-4, 1923, pp. 165-6, from Ch.
- E 4: K. Saunders, *Lotuses of the Mahayana*, 1924, pp. 42-4 (from Ch ?).
- E 5: D. T. Suzuki.
(a) *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, iii, 1934, pp. 192-4.
(b) *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 1935, pp. 27-32.
- E 6: W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, 1935, pp. 355-259, from Ti.
- E 7: D. Goddard in *A Buddhist Bible*, 2nd ed., 1938, pp. 85-6, "made from

E 8: J. Tyberg, *Sanskrit Keys to the Wisdom Religion*, 1940, p. 147.

E 9: E. Conze, *The Middle Way*, xx, 5, 1946, p. 105 (from Sanskrit).

FRENCH TRANSLATIONS

F 1: L. Feer, from Ti. *Extraits du Kandjour, Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. 5, 1883, pp. 177-9.

F 2: P. Regnaud and M. Ymaizoumi, *Actes du sixième Congrès International*, iii, 1885, 189-190 (from Skr.).

F 3: C. de Harlez, *Journal Asiatique*, tome 18, 1891, pp. 445-6, from Manchu. As "introduction mandchoue-chinoise" to Chinese MS. of Diamond sūtra, of 1837.

COMMENTARIES

Indian (Tibetan)

ti 1: Vimalamitra. Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-ṭikā. Mdo hgral, xvi, 285b-302b (Cordier).

ti 2: Jñānamitra. -vyākhyā, xvi, 302b-309b.

ti 3: Vajrapāṇi (?). -ṭikārtha-pradīpa, xvi, 309b-319b.

ti 4: Praśāstrasena. -ṭikā, xvi, 319b-330b (daśārtha-prakāśikā).

ti 5: Kamalaśīla, -ṭikā, xvi, 330b-333a.

ti 6: Dīpamkarasrijñāna, -vyākhyā, xvi, 333a-338b.

ti 7: Mahājāna, -artha-parijñāna, xvi, 338b-350a.

Chinese

ch 1: T 1710 ii. Kiki (Hossō) 650. Vol. 23, pp. 514-542.

ch 2: T 1711 i. Enjiki c. 680. Abridged or brief cy. Vol. 23, pp. 542-552.

ch 3: T 1712 i. Hōzō (Kegon), pp. 552-5.

ch 4: T 1713 ii. Shi-hui (Shie) (Kegon) (+ 946 Nanjio; trav. 1165 T). cy to ch 3, pp. 555-568.

ch 5: T 1714 i. Sōroku and Nyoki (Tsung-lo and Ju-chi), 1380, pp. 569-571.

ch 6: Wu-tsing-tse, cf. Beal, *Catena*, p. 279.

ch 7: Shin kyo kie, cy of 1839, 34 leaves.

ch 8: Hogo, 1807, Bon-mon-han-nya-shin-gyo shaku. (Japanese on Sanskrit text.)

English

e 1: D. T. Suzuki. The significance of the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra in Zen Buddhism. *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, iii, 1934, pp. 187-206.

e 2: E. Conze. The Hṛdaya sūtra; its scriptural background. *The Middle Way*, xx, 6, 1946, pp. 124-7; xxi, 1, 1946, pp. 9-11, 17.

The Chuvash Word for "Knife"

By J. BENZING

THE Chuvash language contains many words lacking a clear etymological relation to the Turco-Tatar languages (of which the Chuvash is a member) as well as to the neighbouring Finno-Ugrian languages. One of these odd expressions is the word for "knife", *zězě*, which, according to Ashmarin's *Thesaurus Linguae Tschuvaschorum*¹ (vol. xiii, pp. 109-110), has no derivations in this language. Among the examples of the use shown there, one is of some interest for students of folklore and may therefore be inserted here in translation: "Having buried the maid they put a knife at her head, saying: Cut thou with this knife the bread yonder; and they put a needle and thread, saying: Sew the chemises with them."

To find the origin of the word *zězě*, we shall start from the pronunciation given in Ashmarin's *Thesaurus*, which may be shown as *šězě*, *šōžō*, where *š* is a palatal *s*, *ž* a palatal voiceless *z*, and *ě*, *ō* are reduced vowel sounds.

The dialect form *šōžō* suggests that the original vowel may have been *ō*, *ü* or *o*, *u*. In most of the Chuvash dialects (and in the literary language, too) the reduced *ō* and *o* sounds are pronounced like *ě*, *ă* (*ě* about like *e* in begin, *ă* about like *ou* in furious), but in some dialects, though there are many irregularities, *ě*, *ă* and *ō*, *ō* are different and show where the literary *ě*, *ă* originate from old labial vowels. So we have *kēmēl* (: *kōmōl*, cf. Tatar *komeş*, Turkish *gümüş*) "silver", *pētēm* (: *pōtōm*, cf. Tat. *beten*, Tk. *bütün*) "total", *kēr* (: *kōr*, cf. Tat. *köz*, Tk. *güz*) "autumn", *pār* (: *pōr*, cf. Tat. *boz*, Tk. *buz*) "ice", etc.

The initial *š* and the *ž* (in literary writing both *z*, as each *š* between vowels or between liquid and vowel is pronounced *ž*) point to an old *č* (ch), *š* (sh) or—in the beginning of the word—to *y*, too. Therefore the original form of *zězě* will probably begin with *čō* . . (*čü* . .) or *yō* . . (*yü* . .).

Both Chuvash and Caucasian Balkars are considered to be descendants of the Bulgarian people and, though the Balkar idiom comes no nearer to the Chuvash language than any other of the

¹ Reviewed in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1939, col. 538-542.

Turco-Tatar idioms, there may be found many common features in detail.¹ The Balkar word for knife is *çylgyc*, a member of a rather common word family: Azeri *ylgyc* "razor", Karaim *iligic* (Trocki dialect *ülüwüç*) id., Coman *yulu(n)yuç* id., Turkish *ülküç* id. Other Turkish forms of the same word are *yülgü* and *yülüğen* "razor", derived from **yül-*, *yülü-* "to scrape off, to shave", which we find in Yakut *syl-* "to skin", Balkar *çyly-* "to shave", and many others. W. Bang (in the *Hirth-Festschrift*, p. 30, note 1) explained these forms to be palatal variants of the common Turco-Tatar root *yul-* "to pluck"—the above Coman *yulu(yu)ç* shows the original shape of the root—which we find in Chuvash *zäl-* (: *zöl-*) "to pull, to pluck; to reap, to mow; to ransom, to save".

As noted the Chuvash *zěžě* points back to a root beginning with *čü*.. or *yü*.. and, as a matter of course, we may now equal *zěžě* to Balkar *çylgyc*, etc., i.e. reduce it to an original form **yülgic*: we have to see whether this is compatible with the intricate laws of Chuvash historical phonetics.

We shall begin with the disappearance of the *g*. It is a great and hitherto unsolved problem in Turco-Tatar phonetics, that in many words a *g*, *γ* (sometimes *k*, *q*) is found where other dialects do not show this sound, and it has not yet been proved whether in some dialects the *g* has disappeared or in others it has been inserted. Already in A.D. 1073 Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, the famous Turkish lexicographer, dealt with this matter in his *Dívān Lughāt at-Turk*. E.g. instead of the common "Turkish" word *tamyaq* "throat" the Oghuz and Kipchaks (i.e. the Western group of the Turks) say *tamaq* (v. *Divanü Lûgat it-Türk Tercümesi*, Ankara, vol. i, p. 33; cf. Tk. *damak* "the palate", Karaim *tamaq* "throat, gullet", Kirghiz *tamaq* "throat; food", and others.² Examples like Chuvash *pultăran* "*Heracleum sibiricum* (a plant)", *păťă* (: *pōťō*) "groats", *tări* "lark", *tîlē* "fox" show that in this language, too, this phenomenon is found, as the corresponding forms of these words in Turco-Tatar languages are: (1) Tk. *baldıran* "hemlock", *baldırğan* (Redhouse) "the assafoetida plant" = Tat. *baldıroğan* "*Heracleum sibiricum*" = Kirghiz *baltıroğan* "a plant (: *ajuru*

¹ Many notices about such details are scattered in the volumes of the Hungarian *Oriental Review* (Keleti Szemle).

² *tam* + *aq* "the roof of the mouth" < *tam* "roof" + diminutive suffix *aq*; v. Ananjasz Zajaczkowski, *Les suffixes nominaux et verbaux dans la langue des karaims occidentaux*. Kraków. 1932. p. 17.

baltȳroġan = *Heracleum*)"; (2) Tat. *butqa* = Kirgh. *botqo* "groats"; (3) Tk. *turgay* = Tat. *turoġaj* = Kirgh. *toroġoj* "lark"; (4) Tk. *tilki* = Tat. *telke* = Kirgh. *tylky* "fox".

With regard to that we may now start from the assumed word **yülic* (~ **yülgic*) "razor" which would have been **zëlěz* in Chuvash. The words *äjäh* ~ *yjhă* "sleep", *milěk* ~ *milķē* (< Russ. *vėnik*) "the birch-twigs used for whipping oneself in the *sauna*", *jumză* ~ *jumăz* "Chuvash sacrificer", *hujhă* ~ *hujăh* "grief", etc., prove that a word ending with consonant + *ě*, *ă* may put the *ě*, *ă* before the consonant (as in *hujhă*, cf. Tat. *qajoġ* id.) or may originally be a word ending with *ě*, *ă* + consonant (as *milěk*), and "knife" now turns from **zëlěz* to **zëlzě*, a form which comes very near to the Chuvash word *zězě*.

Regarding the disappearance of the *l* in Chuvash words there are many examples: *utmăl* (cf. Tat. *altmăs*, Tk. *altmış*) "60", *pizen* (= Tat. *bılçan*) "thistle, *Cirsium arvense*", *kin* (= Tat. *kilen* = Tk. *gelin*) "bride, young woman", *hěz* ~ *hězě* "sword; weaver's reed" (= Tat. *qılbc* "sword" = Tk. *kılıç* "sword; coulter of a plough").



The way from **yülgic* "razor" to *zězě* "knife" is an interesting example of the problems of Turco-Tatar philology which covers not only etymology and grammar, but also the literature of many of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

A Note on the Titles of Three Buddhist Stotras

By D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY

DR. RUDOLF HOERNLE'S *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan* (1916) contains the collected fragments of the two most celebrated works ascribed to the Buddhist hymn-writer Mātṛceta, generally known as the Śatapañcāśatka ¹ and Catuḥśataka Stotras. The editor pointed out (p. 76) that in the Catuḥśataka fragments the poem is twice called Varṇārhavarna Stotra and that the Tibetan translation in the Tanjur, parts of which were published by Professor F. W. Thomas in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 145 ff., gives it the same title.² Further perplexities are indicated in Dr. Hoernle's note on the first fragment of the Catuḥśataka (Stein MSS., Khora 005a) which begins in his edition as follows :—

Obverse

1. xxxxxxxx  x m prayātu citto³ jagati x (*dhayu*) x (*matih*) ||
100 (*śloka*) || Prasādapratibhōdbhavo nāma buddha  stotram
xxxxxx⁴

On which his note runs : “ In the first line of the obverse we have the conclusion and colophon of a work which preceded the text of the Catuḥśataka in the pothī from which our fragmentary folio is derived. Its colophon gives its name as *Prasāda-pratibhā-udbhava*, or ‘ Rise of the Splendour of Graciousness ’, and describes it as a *Buddha-stotra* ; for so, no doubt, the mutilated term must be completed. The name is followed (*sic*) by the clearly legible figure 100, and two blurred akṣaras which may be read as *śloka*. Anyhow the numeral indicates that the stotra must have consisted of one hundred verses ; and as its text precedes that of the four-hundred versed hymn of Mātṛceta in the pothī, it seems probable that it likewise was a composition of that poet. Among his works, however, as enumerated by Dr. Thomas in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxii

¹ Often incorrectly written Śatapañcāśatika.

² According to Hoernle in the form *Varṇanārhavarna* ; but this is a misreading borrowed from Professor Thomas.

³ Italics show more or less doubtful legibility.

⁴ x = missing akṣara.

(1903), pp. 346-7, there occurs no hymn with the name of Prasāda-pratibhōdbhava. At the same time it is also noticeable that the list does not contain the Śatapañcāśatika (*sic*) and Catuḥśataka or '150-versed' and '400-versed' hymns, and that the Varṇanārha-varṇana (*ibid.*, p. 346) is described as *bhagavato Buddhasya stotra-traya*, or 'three hymns in praise of the blessed Buddha'. This can only mean that the Varṇanārha-varṇana was the name of a collection of three separate hymns, and the conclusion is supported by the fact that in the third fragment (rev. ll. 3, 4, p. 83) the Catuḥśataka or 400-versed hymn is apparently indicated as a component part of the Varṇanārha-varṇana hymn. It may be suggested that the three hymns which constituted the Varṇanārha-varṇana are three hymns consisting of 400, 150, and 100 verses respectively; and that the 100-versed hymn is the one which bore the specific name of Prasāda-pratibhōdbhava."

The alleged heading *bhagavato buddhasya stotratraya*, on which Dr. Hoernle based his view of the Varṇārhavarṇa Stotra as a composite work, seems to have originated in a misreading by Professor Thomas of the corrupt original on Fol. 93 b 1 of the Bstod pa section of the Tanjur (Nar Thang edition) where the heading actually runs *varṇarāhavarṇe bhagavato || buddhastotrāya śākyastavanāma*. The Tohoku Catalogue to the Tanjur (No. 1139), which is based on the Sde Dge edition, reports this in the form *varṇabhavarṇe . . . stotra aśākyā . . .*, emended by the editor to *varṇārhavarṇe bhagavato buddhasya stotre 'śākyastavanāma* in accordance with the Tibetan equivalent (by which, as usual, the Sanskrit title is immediately followed) *saṃs rgyas bcom ldan ḥdas la bstod pa bśnags par ḥos pa bśnags pa las bstod par mi nus par bstod pa zhes bya ba*. The origin of this at first sight unaccountable heading is revealed by reference to the end of Chapter 1 of the Tibetan version which concludes by way of colophon with exactly the same Tibetan phrase, plus the words *ste leḥu dan poḥo*. All of the succeeding chapters wind up with the same formula, except that, of course, other chapter-names replace *bstod par mi nus par bstod pa*. *Aśākyastava*, then, is the title of the first chapter only and ought to have appeared only in its colophon; but, by a mistake which the translator may or may not have found in his Sanskrit MSS., it has made its way into the poem-heading which originally would have read *bhagavato buddhasya varṇārhavarṇo nāma stotram*. The preliminary Tibetan title to the whole work (in small print on the xylograph) does in fact run

*bcom ldan hḍas la bstod pa shags ḥos bshags bstod zhes bya ba dri za sde*¹ *dbyaṅs kyis mdzad pa bzhugs.*

Fragment 3b ll. 3, 4, cited by Dr. Hoernle as supporting his theory, comes from the colophon to the whole work and, as emended and restored by him, reads *Varṇārḥavarṇe [Buddha stotre xxxxxxxx nāma dvādaśamo 'dhyāyaḥ sa]māptam ca Catuḥśatakam kṛtir ācāryabhadantamā[ṛcetasya]*, which merely shows that the poem bore both names. An exactly similar instance of a colophon containing two titles will be noticed presently.

The Varṇārḥavarṇa Stotra is, then, unquestionably a single composition to be identified with the Hymn of Four Hundred Verses. There is an obvious though unnoticed connection between the former title and the opening śloka of the hymn :—

kṣetrākṣetrānabhijñeṇa śrutimātrānusārīṇā |
yad avarṇārḥavarṇā me [*varṇitā mohataḥ purāḥ*]² ||

The question naturally arises whether the Tanjur version does in fact contain 400 verses, and the answer brings forward another peculiarity of the tradition which escaped Dr. Hoernle's attention. His statement of the number of chapters as twelve is so far justified that both in the Sanskrit fragments and in the Tanjur (there is, apparently, no Chinese translation) Chapter 12 ends with a colophon announcing the completion of the entire work and appending, as usual, the names of its translators—Sarvajñadeva and Dpal brtsegs rakṣita (Śrīkūṭarakṣita). A count of verses up to this point yields a total of 1,547 pādas, which, allowing for a pāda which has evidently fallen out in Chapter 2, represents 387 ślokas. But the colophon is followed, without preliminary, by a thirteenth chapter containing 138 pādas and concluded by a similar colophon where, however, the translators' names appear as Padmakara and Dge sloṅ Rin chen bzaṅ po (Bhikṣu Ratnabhadra). The thirteenth chapter was presumably absent from some MSS. and its translation added after the completion of the first twelve. Evidently the text is in some disorder, and in the lack of any other complete version it seems unlikely that the discrepancies can be remedied or explained even by a more thorough examination of the Tibetan than it has so far received. It may be noted that the Śatapāñcāśatka also has thirteen chapters.

¹ Sic. Read *bram ze rta.*

² Conjectural complement by Professor Thomas.

To go back to Dr. Hoernle's note. The omission of the Śatapañcāśatka from Professor Thomas' list is no matter for surprise since this includes only works ascribed to Mātṛceṭa in the Tanjur, where, as is well known, the Śatapañcāśatka is fathered upon Aśvaghoṣa.

The next step is to account for the Prasādapratibhodbhava Stotra which preceded the Varṇārhavarṇa in the Khora MS. Even when Dr. Hoernle wrote the explanation of its presence was not far to seek, for on folio 199b of the Nar Thang edition of the Tanjur (Bstod pa) begins a work to which he several times refers, the Mīśraka Stotra (Tib. Spel mar bstod pa) of Dignāga who composed it by interspersing the 150 verses of the Śatapañcāśatka with an equal number of his own.¹ The chapter colophons of this medley run in the following formula : *saṅs rgyas bcom ldan ḥdas la bstod pa dad pa las spobs pa skyes pa zhes bya ba las* (followed by name and number of chapter); i.e. *bhagavato buddhasya prasādapratibhodbhavastotre*, etc. The heading and colophon to the whole hymn, however, call it Mīśrakastotra. Clearly, just as the Catuḥśataka bore the alternative title Varṇārhavarṇa, so this Mīśrakastotra was also called Prasādapratibhodbhava. The proof of this identity does not rest here. A MS. containing the complete Sanskrit text of the Śatapañcāśatka (under the title Adhyardhaśatakam) was discovered in Tibet by Mr. Rāhula Saṃkrtyāyana and published in 1937 as an appendix to the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. Here is its final stanza :—

phalodayenāsyā śubhasya karmaṇo
muniprasādapratibhodbhavasya me |
asadvitarkākulamāruteritaṃ
prayātu cittam jagatām vidheyatām ||

(By the fruit arising from this good work of mine, product of a wit which is derived from faith in the Muni, may the minds of all living things, now tossed about on the troubled gusts of evil thoughts, come to docility.)

A glance will show that the last pāda is identical with the conclusion of the Prasādapratibhodbhava stotra in the Khora fragment ; and, as we know from the Tanjur, the last stanza of the Śatapañcāśatka is also the last stanza of the Mīśraka Stotra. To round off the

¹ He himself seems to have gained a similar tribute ; Nandapriya's commentary on the Śatapañcāśatika quotes a verse from a Spel maḥi spel ma by Śākya blo (Śākya buddhi)—doubtless identical with the Śākya deva mentioned by I-Tsing (*Records* trans. Takakusu, p. 158).

matter, the second pāda contains just such an echo of the title as has been noticed in the opening śloka of the Catuḥśataka.¹

By the kindness of Professor H. W. Bailey I have been able to examine a photograph of the Khora fragment, of which there is also a reduced facsimile in Dr. Hoernle's volume. In the light of our present knowledge of the text there is no difficulty in deciphering *prayātu citam jagatām [vidheyatā]m iti* (for *iti*, cf. frag. 3 b, l. 3 of the Catuḥśataka). The marks taken by Dr. Hoernle for visarga probably stand for the double dot of punctuation (Hoernle, p. 62). The figure 100 which follows does indeed seem clear and I do not know how to explain it, unless by supposing that the verses were numbered 1-100 and so over again; e.g. v. 101 would be numbered 1 and 100 would stand for any multiple of a hundred. The Miśraka Stotra ought originally to have contained 300 verses, although the Tanjur translation has in fact 304.² Others, more experienced in this field, may be able to point to parallels for such a system of numeration in Central Asian documents; I can only assert that the decade numbers are sometimes omitted, e.g. 61, 62, 63 becoming 1, 2, 3. The vertical marks which follow appear to be only punctuation.

The Śatapañcāśatka itself must now be considered. The first fragment of its original text to be published was one of the documents brought from Tun Huang by Paul Pelliot and printed by Sylvain Lévi in *Journal Asiatique*, 1910, pp. 450 ff. It consists of a single folio containing on the obverse fragments of the seven concluding ślokas of the Śatapañcāśatka (vv. 145-151 in the *JBORS.* text, in which I may remark that v. 141 is probably spurious) and on the reverse the following colophon (*pra*)—*dapratibho nāma buddha-stavas xxxxxx yo ācāryam(ā)tr.* . . . The two Vamśastha stanzas which appear in the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the hymn as well as in the *JBORS.* text were omitted in this MS. Lévi recognized that *prasādapratibho* corresponded to the Tibetan *dad pas spobs* but naturally was unable to suggest the explanation which is now apparent, namely that the Śatapañcāśatka, like its

¹ It will be noticed that my translation of *prasādapratibhodbhava* differs from Dr. Hoernle's. It follows the interpretation of Nandapriya (Dgaḥ byed sñan pa) whose commentary on the Śatapañcāśatka was translated into Tibetan and may be found in the Tanjur immediately after the hymn itself. For the meaning of *prasāda* and *pratibhā* in Buddhist Skt. cf. Lévi, *Sūtrālamkāra*, Vol. II, pp. 12 and 57.

² The last four Vamśastha verses may have been omitted in some texts.

sister compositions, bore an alternative title, Prasādapratibhā (°pratibho can hardly stand). Dignāga's title Prasādapratibhodbhava can now be seen to have a special appropriateness; for his Mixed Hymn did indeed arise, not only from the "brilliant wit of faith" but also from the Prasādapratibhā Stotra of Mātṛceṭa.¹

To sum up: we have three hymns, Mātṛceṭa's "Hymn of 150 Verses" and "Hymn of 400 Verses" and Dignāga's "Mixed Hymn". All three bore alternative titles, Prasādapratibhā, Varṇārhavarṇa, and Prasādapratibhodbhava. It seems reasonable to suppose that the first trio of titles were popular substitutes for the original less easily memorable names, such as might naturally come into use in the case of compositions so widely celebrated as those of Mātṛceṭa, at any rate, are known to have been, and that in the second we have the titles under which Mātṛceṭa and Dignāga originally wrote.

¹ It may be suggested that both the Khorā and the Pelliot colophons belong to the Śatapañcāśatka and that the second should read *prasādapratibho* (dbhavo) *nāma*. I do not regard this as impossible, but it seems unlikely that Dignāga's hymn should have borne precisely the same name, as, from the evidence of the Tibetan chapter colophons, would then follow.

The Meaning of יָכַתַב in Judges viii, 14

By JACOB LEVEEN

THE correct interpretation of יָכַתַב has presented a problem so far not satisfactorily solved. Acting on the *a priori* assumption that in the time of Gideon writing could hardly have been so generally diffused that a mere lad caught casually would write down the names of the chiefs of Sukkoth, the Revised Version renders, somewhat disingenuously, "and he [the lad] described for him [Gideon] the princes of Sukkoth, etc." Realizing, however, that such a translation was quite indefensible lexicographically, it safeguarded itself by adding in the margin, "Or, wrote down."

Of the two outstanding commentators on Judges, G. F. Moore adopts a non-committal attitude.¹ He says: "There is as little reason to depart from the usual meaning of the verb as there is to infer that the Israelites of Gideon's time could all read and write." Burney avoids sitting on the fence, but is not quite happy about the interpretation. He frankly admits that a boy caught by chance should be able to write "may seem to us surprising, but need not be regarded as incredible".²

A fresh interpretation is here offered. It is to treat *vay-yikhtōbh* as an impersonal use of the verb and to translate accordingly, "and one wrote." Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley cites many instances in the Hebrew Bible of this impersonal use of the verb in the third person singular masculine.³ Ibn Ezra,⁴ following the Arab grammarians, explains this impersonal use of the verb by maintaining that a participial form is implicit in it.⁵ Thus Gen. xi, 9, "āl kēn kārā' shēmāh Bābhel," has really the force of "āl kēn kārā' haḳ-kōrē'", etc. Similarly, in the case of *vay-yikhtōbh*, I would suggest that it would be tantamount to saying, *vay-yikhtōbh haḳ-kōthēbh*, "and the (or, a) scribe wrote," i.e. "and one wrote."

¹ *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 224.

² *The Book of Judges*, London, 1918, p. 232.

³ See p. 460.

⁴ See G. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of . . . Samuel*, Oxford, 1913, p. 132.

⁵ Sometimes this cognate participle is actually found, as in Is. xvi, 10—*yidhrōkh had-dōrēkh*.

A general or leader like Gideon would have a professional scribe attached to his entourage, and it would be the latter's business to write down the names of people, to read and write messages. A rendering such as I have suggested would obviate the necessity of imagining that in the days of Gideon so highly skilled a craft as that of scribe could have been undertaken on the spot by a lad caught by chance.

It is thus the impersonal use of the verb which supplies the key to the difficulty.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

THE INTELLECTUAL ADVENTURE OF ANCIENT MAN. By H. and H. A. FRANKFORT, JOHN A. WILSON, THORKILD JACOBSEN, and WILLIAM A. IRWIN. 9 × 6, pp. vii + 400. Chicago. 1947.

The quality of this reflective and well-written book should not be estimated by its unsuitable title; it is an attempt by a group of highly competent writers to define some of the fundamental concepts which regulated the thinking of the three principal nations of the ancient orient concerning religion and government, and the life of man as it was passed under their supreme influences. Three specialist writers devote three chapters each (with one slight variation) to these three subjects, as they were regarded in Egypt, in Babylonia, and by the Hebrews, and two more chapters at the beginning and end of the book consider in terms of modern philosophy the "relation of myth and reality", and "the emancipation of thought from myth". The contributions can all be praised as learned, generally clear, and not infrequently original statements of facts and beliefs, many of which will not be uniformly familiar to all students of the ancient civilizations. To exemplify and discuss these high qualities of a work concerned with ideas is beyond the scope of a short notice, but the reader will appreciate them better in contrast with the relative weakness of a theme developed to a set pattern. Neither the harmonies nor the contrasts are obtained without some forcing, whether it be the climatic influences of Egypt and Babylonia, or the paradox of discovering a system called "primitive democracy", not originally among the Hebrews (where it might be plausible), but in Babylonia, where life without a king was looked upon as meaningless, and the whole duty of man could be summed up as on pp. 202 f. For Egypt the attempt is frankly abandoned by Professor Wilson (p. 98). On the other hand, the very striking intellectual parallel of sudden maturity, at about the same time, in Egypt and Babylonia is not observed. With this came, in both lands, not alone the great cultural inventions such as writing and the perfection of the arts, but (as it appears) the whole range of ideas concerning the divine order and its relations with

humanity which these scholars have so ably investigated; the god-king in Egypt, whose power, by actuating the whole realm of nature as well as the life of his people, almost removed the gods from contact with the needs of men and left them to a providence not always so beneficent as it ought to have been (pp. 78 f.) In Sumer arose an astonishing polity so ingeniously arranged that government on earth should not only be mirrored and directed from heaven, but be so precise a replica of what they believed the divine system to be that in the temples and cities where life centred, it was scarcely perceptible whether the servants of the city-god, officers and menials alike, were themselves gods or men. The tracing of this interaction by Professor Jacobsen, partly through the interpretation of early and little known myths, is one of the most interesting topics of a book which sustains instruction and interest throughout.

C. J. GADD.

ASSOCIATIONS OF CULT-PROPHETS AMONG THE ANCIENT SEMITES.

By A. HALDAR. Pp. xii, 248. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wicksells, 1945. Approximately 26s.

Dr. Haldar's work is a detailed examination of the Assyro-Babylonian and Hebrew priestly and prophetic organizations and their activities, which he illustrates by adducing parallel phenomena among the ancient Arabs.

His principal conclusions are that the divinatory associations display a "fundamentally homogeneous phenomenology". Both the Eastern and North-Western Semites have two methods of divination, the one operated by technical means and the other obtained by ecstasy, though the personnel often overlapped; for what the author calls "cumulation of functions" was characteristic of Sumerian and Accadian life, and often no real distinction can be traced between sacerdotal and prophetic oracles. Another type of oracle-giver was the "knowing", the initiate whose title implied the possession of special knowledge. The associations of priests and prophets were regarded as families, the leader being called the "father" and the individual member a "son"; but this was a secondary development, although the organization was similar throughout the Semitic world and the king was generally the leader

of the principal categories. The parts played by these bodies was very similar in different parts of that world, e.g. priests and prophets everywhere acted as physicians and judges, were consulted before military campaigns and accompanied the army into the field, often carrying an "ark" or portable sanctuary with them; or they played an important political part, e.g. in opposition to the king or in questions of succession. The similarities, however, belonged to the basic structure of the institution, though at other levels the heterogeneity of the matter obscured the pattern; the closest correspondence lay between the Sumero-Accadians and North-Western Semites, while the Arabs showed the widest divergence.

The author shows great diligence in collecting matter suitable for his purpose, but what that may be is not by any means clear; he seems to want to show that the Accadian and Hebrew systems of priestly and prophetic organizations were similar if not identical and to claim that "this new approach to the prophets has shown the untenability of the attitude of the Wellhausen-school and of the higher criticism". His argument, however, is often pushed far beyond the evidence and is not free from special pleading. For example, in discussing the order given by Chemosh to Mesha to go and fight against Hauronan, he says that "it seems to me best to interpret the statement" in the text of the Moabite Stone as meaning that the god spoke through the priests, as Be'el-shemin spoke to Zakir, and then proceeds to argue that the "princes" sent by Balak to Balaam were "a kind of corporation" having to do with divinatory rites. Neither argument bears scrutiny: Mesha may have been instructed in a dream, and Balak's princes may have been noblemen sent as an embassy of honour to win the support of Balaam. Further, the author hardly attempts to distinguish what was Sumerian from what was Semitic in the Accadian system and argues from it as though it was entirely *gemeinsemitisch*; but the whole Accadian system was certainly Sumerian in origin as it probably was to a large extent also in development. The bulk of the priestly titles are written as Sumerian words and many of the Accadian titles, such as *mahhû*, are Sumerian loan-words; and many of them, too, are represented by several different ideograms in the original texts which are here transliterated by a single word and tacitly treated as synonyms. These distinctions, however, require careful examination to see if or how far they reflect different conceptions. A similar point arises in the use of

such a word as "priest", apparently employed now to denote a distinct or semi-distinct category in the personnel of a sanctuary and now to include any and every category of and every individual member on the staff of the Temple ; but this may be due to lack of modern terms to bring out the distinction or to the inadequacy of the peculiar English jargon in which the book is written. Again, the point is quite reasonably made that the Sumerian and Accadian priests and prophets gave their utterances in a form not in all respects dissimilar from that employed by the Hebrew prophets ; this is indeed true to a very considerable extent, but doubt arises whether the author does not overstress the resemblances while tending to overlook the differences which, though greatest in the sphere of the content, are by no means negligible in the form, of the prophetic utterance. Finally, the translations are sometimes suspect and sometimes even incorrect, both of Accadian (e.g. on p. 49, ll. 22-3, and p. 55, l. 9) and of Hebrew (e.g. on p. 94, ll. 7-8, and p. 127, l. 6) words and phrases.

Criticism in a review is often perhaps liable to give an unduly unfavourable impression ; but no one who reads Dr. Halдар's book can fail to appreciate the freshness of outlook and the wide reading of the author and to be grateful to him for an interesting piece of work on a subject not yet much investigated, except by himself and Professor A. Johnson at the University of Cardiff, whose studies on the cultic prophets and kindred subjects are as important as they are well known. Even those who do not agree with Dr. Halдар's theory can but feel that he has thrown light on dark corners of the ancient world and will hope that he will continue his stimulating researches in Semitic life and custom.

G. R. DRIVER.

DIWÂN IBN 'UNAIN. Ed. by KHALIL MARDAM. (Publications of the Arab Academy), Damascus. pp. 47 + 270. 1946.

Ibn 'Unain is in a class by himself for he commenced poetry at fifteen, lived to be almost eighty, and made no attempt to preserve his verse. He was banished from Damascus by Saladin and spent at least twenty years away from his home during which he travelled as far as India. Many of his poems describe his yearning after his native city ; otherwise there is nothing to show that they were not written in Damascus. He changed his skies but not his mind. The

panegyrics and lampoons have little to distinguish them from the work of other poets, but his *vers de société* is graceful and agreeable reading. The riddles are curious. He also introduces us to an autograph hunter! The editor has done his work well; he has collated eight MSS., collected in the introduction all that is known of the poet and provided full indices. Some lines, which do not scan, have been allowed to remain.

A. S. TRITTON.

HETHITISCHES ELEMENTARBUCH. By JOHANNES FRIEDRICH.
2 vols. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. i-xi, 1-108, and i-viii, 1-131. Heidelberg,
1940, 1946.

Of the small band of German scholars who, after the first stage of decipherment was passed, were responsible for the introduction of a sound critical method into the study of the Hittite texts, none has contributed more to our knowledge of the grammar and syntax of this language than Professor J. Friedrich; so that the publication of a concise Hittite grammar by this eminent scholar (for such is the first volume of the work under review) marks an epoch in Hittite studies.

Professor Friedrich and his colleagues have been reluctant to crystallize the results of their labours in the form of a systematic grammar, believing that such a work would become antiquated almost as soon as it appeared on account of the constant flow of new textual material from the Berlin Museum. This was the fate of the first grammar (*Manuel de la langue Hittite* part 2) published by L. Delaporte in 1929. Yet the need for such a summary of the results of German scholarship was acutely felt in other countries, especially in the United States, where this newly-discovered Indo-European language attracted the keen interest of comparative philologists, and so in 1933 E. H. Sturtevant published *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language* (William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series, vol. i). But this, though generally reliable as a grammar, was inconvenient for students on account of the space devoted to speculations in comparative etymology; and it is admittedly incomplete, the treatment of the syntax being reserved for a second volume, which has never appeared. Reliable paradigms were contained in the small work by L. Delaporte entitled *Pour lire le*

Hittite cunéiforme (1935), but this is only a beginners' book and not designed as a systematic grammar. Thus Professor Friedrich's work, nearly half of which is devoted to syntax, supplies a real need.

The second volume of the work, published in 1946, is a chrestomathy containing a selection of texts in transliteration with brief notes and a vocabulary. The many cross-references to the grammar make this a useful tool in the hands of a beginner interested only in the language, and the number of texts is sufficiently large to provide a very fair survey of the different classes of Hittite literature. But for those who wish to specialize in Hittite a knowledge of the cuneiform script is indispensable. Professor Friedrich announces in the foreword to the grammar that he hopes to complete the work with a "Hittite Cuneiform Reading-book". Until this appears Delaporte's brochure, mentioned above, or the more elaborate book *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, by E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel (reviewed in this *Journal*, 1936, pp. 684-9) will still be found serviceable.

O. R. GURNEY.

MANUEL D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE, IV—Les découvertes archéologiques de 1930 à 1939. By Dr. G. CONTENAU. pp. 1687-2378, Planches I-XII, figs. 975-1311. Paris : Editions A. et J. Picard et Cie., 1947.

The fourth part of Dr. Contenau's comprehensive survey of the ancient art of Western Asia is a long and weighty volume which is almost a library in itself. Like its three predecessors it comprises more than a description of the arts and their surviving products "from the origins to the time of Alexander". There are, in the "notions générales", surveys of the anthropology, history, language, religion, laws, and sciences, and room is found for many valuable discussions, as upon the pre-historic periods and upon the foreign relations between the often far-sundered regions which the author's scope embraces. Add to this a copious bibliography as well as many references in the text, and it will be owned that the volume justifies its bulk by providing a wide general survey of Near Eastern studies in most of the subjects which can by extension be called archæological, during the decade preceding the war. That war imposed a standstill opportune at least for this retrospect. That many matters connected rather with the literary branch of these studies are summarily dispatched cannot be made an objection to a work

which includes these topics only because of a correct persuasion that a history of art without a comprehension of ideas is meaningless ; moreover the author has in certain cases dealt more fully with them in separate books.

A particularly useful chapter is given to " le milieu ethnique ", which not only co-ordinates the rather unfamiliar work done upon the physical remains of men from these ancient civilizations, but notes and discusses the evident falsity of commonly-held opinions upon the relation of the long and short-headed peoples, and the more curious problem of apparent incongruity between the physical evidence and the representation in art. The author argues cogently in two places for a revision of exaggerated estimates for the length of the pre-historic and proto-historic periods, and furnishes a clear scheme for the dates and relations of the Susa pottery and of that found in sites upon the Iranian plateau. Wherever one consults this book—aided by an index and a detailed table of the contents—there will be found information generally brought even closer up to date than the set limit of 1939. If this book may not be " indispensable " to all students of the ancient Near East, any who did not use it would be ignoring a most serviceable auxiliary.

C. J. GADD.

MESOPOTAMIAN ELEMENTS IN MANICHÆISM. (King and Saviour II.)

Studies in Manichæari, Mandæan, and Syrian-Gnostic Religion.

By GEO. WIDENGREN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 198. Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, 1946.

These studies centre round accounts of the origin of man, his change of state, and his hope of salvation, proclaimed by the less known religions or Christian sects of Western Asia during the early centuries of the Christian era. They show what is generally admitted, that in dealing with these subjects the texts quoted use figures which can be called figures of speech or mythological features, and that these are identical or bear a close relation to one another and have some connection with the figures of the ancient paganism. Specialists will find this collocation of texts stimulating and useful. [It should serve to modify and slightly correct views of religious developments at the time in question.]

The book counters the view that Manichæism was a reformed Iranian religion, by showing that terms used in Mani's system

occur in Mandæan and Christian writings and go back to pagan texts. The material available, thanks to Polotzki, Henning, and the lamented Allberry among others, is now much ampler than formerly. The author attributes the use of some figures to ancient conceptions or rituals transmitted to the Manichæans through Christian texts. In Chapter VIII references in the Manichæan Psalm-book to purification in "holy waters" or in "dew-drops of thy joy" are considered clear evidence that the Manichæan rites included one resembling Christian baptism, and the Mandæan washing at the moment of death is brought into the same category. Then the author turns to the figure of the bridegroom, used by Narsai as applicable to the Christian at baptism, and depends on the description of the bridal chamber of the "Daughter of Light" in the *Acts of Thomas*, as compared with Lady Drower's description of a Mandæan bridal hut, to deduce that "the connection between *hieros gamos* and baptism is apparent, for the bridegroom is baptized on his festival day". So the marriage of Christ and the Church "can be traced back to an ancient Mesopotamian ritual body" (where the use of "body" is not clear to me). In the end, the bridal chamber of Adam was "the paradise garden", and as Ephræm the Syrian says that this garden was given to "that king fashioned from the dust", there is constant reference to "the same myth and ritual pattern of the Ancient Near East". This instance illustrates the author's method. Though the general conclusions at the end of the book seem fairly well balanced, the *obiter dicta* inspire some lack of confidence. Even in the final conclusions there are incautious statements, such as that in the Manichæan myth "we are confronted with an Iranian interpretation of a Mesopotamian myth", namely the Tammuz story. This is incautious partly because it is by no means certain that the Tammuz story originated in Sumer, and the general practice of the Tammuz rites is not proved for Babylonia throughout its long history, but only for a restricted period, and partly because of the author's assumption that the god Tammuz "played a prominent rôle" in a fusion which led to the worship of the "Great Man" as "Saviour". When the comparative study of late religions assumes stages for which there is no historical evidence, the field for speculation becomes limitless.

Whether Mani was guided mainly by political motives, or was primarily a religious teacher whose doctrines led to political consequences, he and his followers were conscious of their differences

from, not of their similarities to, other religions. Where they use the same forms of expression as Mandæans or Syrian Christians; they would still have claimed there was a difference in their interpretation. Professor Widengren knows this. "The basic thoughts in his [Mani's] religious system are Iranian, but the language is that of the Mesopotamian Gnostic with Christian sympathies." The real interest of these studies seems to be in the proof that all the three religions dealt with had to share the current languages of Western Asia and common modes of expressing abstractions. The ideas behind the symbols have lost their natural significance and become mere modes of expression; their use may prove no more than a geometric symbol in design does. Even if in certain contexts these modes are significant, the significance conveyed to a Gnostic, to a Mandæan, and to a Manichæan was not the same. The ideas associated with the Virgin Mary can differ from district to district. The use of the swastika on prehistoric pottery of the Near East does not prove the survival of the idea with which it was associated down to our own time. In the case of these old *clichés*, "Mother of life," "the rebels," and the rest suffered sea-changes as they passed on through men's tongues into different faiths: no Manichæan would have attributed to them the sense they may have in Mandæan medleys. That the pagan survivals, when they are so, are derived directly by Christian writers from Babylonian literature, more especially from the laments for Tammuz, and so passed on to the Manichæans, is not proven. What is proved has to do with the "meaning of meaning", and is sufficiently important. Old religious terminology was re-used by the proselytizing faiths in the early Christian centuries.

Professor Widengren is a meticulous critic. "Allberry's translation of ܡܬܬܬܢܐ ܡܠܟܬܐ as 'the news of the skies' cannot be correct," he says, "it is of course not especially the news of the skies but those of the heavenly kingdom." It will not be obvious to all that the vague use of "the skies" for "heaven" is incorrect, for it belongs to ordinary speech. The late Professor Burkitt, who translated Syriac *makse* "tax-gatherers", is said to have missed the precise meaning of a technical term, said to mean "the Customers", an obsolete and puzzling word for "the collectors of customs"; and the Syriac word, which appears in slightly different form in almost every Semitic tongue, cannot be confined to customs, for the taxes meant were often excise levied on internal

traffic as well as imports, while the Akkadian *mīksu*, to which reference is made, means simply a percentage impost on produce. The author argues that **בְּתֵּאֲרֵכְתָּא דְּנִרְוֹרָא** must mean "in the Farmyards of Light", because the Akkadian *bel tarbaši* applied to Tammuz refers to the god's characteristic connection with domesticated animals. It is true that, e.g. *akīl tarbaši* in the Amarna letters is applied to the superintendent of the stables. But *tarbašu* means a courtyard of a house, or any enclosure where animals lie. The connection in Akkadian with the moon, in astrologers' reports, might have warned the author against this precise translation: "courts of light" is far preferable. There is throughout the book a tendency to use the wrong word, although the great, sometimes unrecognized, difficulties of using a language not one's own should induce caution, not least in criticism.

SIDNEY SMITH.

Middle East

TA'RĪKH ḤUKAMĀ' AL-ISLĀM. By AL-BAIHAQĪ. Ed. by MUHAMMAD KURD 'ALI. pp. 204. Damascus: Arabic Academy, 1946.

The work of al-Baihaqī is not one of the big biographical dictionaries, in either sense of the word; it was planned as a supplement to another, and, even allowing for this, is poor stuff. The author took delight in pithy sayings, so that most articles lead up to "wise-cracks". The longest article is that on Avicenna. The editor has used the Lahore edition as well as a manuscript, but his labours were perfunctory; there are two references to the Berlin catalogue and both are wrong. The book is badly printed; some letters have dropped out while others are smudged or very faint.

A. S. TRITTON.

AL-MUSTAJĀD. By AL-TANŪKHĪ. Ed. by MUHAMMAD KURD 'ALI. pp. 285. Damascus: Arabic Academy, 1946.

To the Arabs generosity was the supreme virtue, but 260 pages of it are cloying. Many of the anecdotes are taken from well-known books like the *kitāb al-aghānī*; the editor has not identified the

sources of all. The introduction is little more than a pæan in praise of the Arabs ; it would be just as easy to make a catalogue of their vices, beginning with Harun's ingratitude to the house of Barmak. The editor says that a shorter version of this book was published in Germany in 1939.

A. S. TRITTON.

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD AMONG THE ARABS. By HILMA GRANQUIST.
pp. 289. Helsingfors, 1947.

Marriage Conditions in a Palestine Village by the same writer is the standard work and this volume will rank beside it. The material for both books was gathered at the same time and in the same places, mostly at Artas. It would be difficult to ask a question about children from conception to circumcision which is not answered here. Artas was a paradise for boys who did not like school. A school was closed once because the teacher had visitors ; a friend defended his conduct by saying, " Would you put boys before beards ? " It is believed that the eating of mule meat weakens control of the temper. At a circumcision a pitchfork is sometimes dressed in bridal garments and carried in the procession to avert the evil eye. The connection between desire, the evil eye, and djinn in modern times is noted, but this goes back to ancient days. If there is a weakness in the book it is that no attempt is made to show how old the customs are. There are 76 pages of notes, called parallels and remarks. The parallels are taken from standard books on Palestine and Northern Arabia ; references to the Bible are many.

A. S. TRITTON.

LE PANTHÉON SUD-ARABE PRÉISLAMIQUE. By A. JAMME. (Muséon, vol. 60.) pp. 91. Louvain, 1947.

The discovery of the South Arabian inscriptions opened up a new world and relegated what Arab historians say to the realm of fancy. This year (1947) two books have appeared covering the whole field from different points of view ; Mr. Philby wrote the political history and M. Jamme has collected what is known about the gods. Interpretation is difficult for no bilingual inscriptions have been found and unknown words can only be explained according to their sense in other languages. The field for error is therefore

wide. In 1931 Conti Rossini explained *hbl* and *hmr* as two classes of deities while in this book both are given the meaning of *treaty*, *alliance*. The chief gods were the moon, Venus, and the sun; the moon had different names in the several kingdoms, but not so the other two. In addition there were many minor gods. The survey of the field is well nigh exhaustive; the phrase *dt/t'nt/'ttr* is not mentioned, it seems to refer to a female partner of 'Athtar. There are several misprints; it is only surprising that there are not more. A foundation has been well and truly laid for future scholars to build on.

A. S. TRITTON.

AZ-ZARNŪJĪ: TA'LĪM AL-MUTA'ALLIM—ṬARĪQ AT-TA'ALLUM. Trans. by G. E. VON GRUNEBaum and T. M. ABEL. pp. 78. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947.

This book is a typical product of a second-rate age. One of the editors belongs to a State Department of Mental Hygiene and so, one supposes, has chosen this book as an example of a mind which is not healthy. There is sound sense in its insistence on industry and condemnation of gluttony, but many of the prescriptions belong to custom or superstition. The quotation, "an hour of questions is worth more than a month of repetition," shows that the author demanded an understanding of the subjects studied and not merely parrot-like reproduction. He allows enough astronomy to calculate the direction of prayer and the efficacy of medicine as a laudable subject, but it takes a low place compared with canon law and its attendant studies.

A. S. TRITTON.

SAUDI ARABIA. By K. S. TWITCHELL. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Price 14s.

America, a relatively recent entry in the race for Arabian honours, has during the last fifteen years easily outdistanced all her competitors so far as Sa'udi Arabia is concerned, and now holds in that country, as also in the Yaman, an unchallengeable position of economic dominance and political influence. The author of this book can fairly claim to have been the pioneer of this American

penetration; and no one with any knowledge of the recent history of the country will deny that he has been the principal factor in the agricultural and industrial development of Sa'udi Arabia. He can speak of that land with all the authority of an assiduous and scientifically equipped explorer of sixteen years' standing.

Mr. Twitchell has condensed his experiences into a very readable and convenient introduction. It is probably the best guide available on population, climate, water, roads, and the like, though it does not contribute anything new to our knowledge of the country. Inevitably mistakes occur, e.g. 'Anaiza is south, not north, of Buraida. But the most serious criticism to which this section of the book is open is the spelling of Arabic names, which is all at sea and so inconsistent that even the expert charged with the task of making an intelligible list of names (pp. 179-181) has not been very successful. For instance, he interprets the author's Joharana and/or Juraina as Juraynah instead of the correct Ja'rana: Ma'agala and/or Maagola (Umm Ogla) as Umm 'Uqlah instead of Ma'qala. Many other errors of orthography could be instanced and should be corrected in any subsequent edition of this useful work.

Pages 81-120 deal with history and politics, though not very successfully. The historical perspective is blurred and inconsequent; and suggests a somewhat uncritical blending of notes jotted down in the course of casual conversations with different people. The author might with advantage have had recourse to the authorities on the subject. To quote but one instance of grave error, we are told (p. 98) that "Ibn Saud had just crushed the Rashidis, incited to war against him by Husain, when General Allenby captured Damascus and General Marshall took Mosul". In fact the decisive campaign against Ibn Rashid was not launched until 1921.

The book ends (pp. 121-177) on Mr. Twitchell's own ground with the fascinating story of the oil and mineral concessions, which have made Arabia so important in the world's economy. He is able to give us here much information not hitherto published, together with his own speculations regarding further agricultural and industrial possibilities. It is surprising to find him apparently ignorant of some facets of the oil story, and still more so to find no reference to the great new project of a trans-peninsular railway, about to be constructed from the new harbour of Dammam (of which there is no mention) to Riyadh: and thence inevitably (though not yet so planned) to the Red Sea. He expresses doubts

regarding the advisability of restoring the old Hijaz Railway to working order, though nothing else can resuscitate the fallen fortunes of Madina and the once prosperous country to its northward. Both here and elsewhere he recommends motor-roads as the best means apparently of encouraging American tourist traffic. Heaven forfend ! Mr. Twitchell still retains business interests in Sa'udi Arabia, and will doubtless have further opportunities of adding to the world's knowledge of the country ; but he is surely a little disingenuous in claiming to have been the first American and non-Moslem to visit Abha and the southern districts.

H. ST. J. B. PHILBY.

Far East

THERAVADA BUDDHISM IN BURMA. By NIHAR-RANJAN RAY.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xv + 306. University of Calcutta, 1946.

Dr. Ray has several books on the religions of Burma to his credit. In this book, written in 1934, he restricts himself to the history of the form of Buddhism now established in Burma. The most satisfactory portion of his work is that for which secondary sources—Blagden, Bode, Coedès, Duroiselle, Finot, Luce, Pelliot, to name but a few—are most ample, i.e. the chapters dealing with Buddhism in Old Prome, Pagan, and Pegu (pp. 32–198). The next fifty pages run hastily through the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries ; based mainly on Mrs. Bode's " Pali Literature of Burma ", they need to be supplemented from sources since made available in Burmese—the five-volume *Myanma Min Okchokpon*, by U Tin (Rangoon, 1931–3), and other scattered material.

In a final chapter entitled, not accurately, " Summary and Retrospect " some omissions in the body of the work are repaired, and there is a sketch of social and religious conditions in present-day Burma which is sympathetic but ill-informed, particularly as to the religious beliefs of the smaller ethnic groups and as to the actual facts of church government.

The value of the book as a useful compilation is marred by the haste with which it has been produced. A long list of *corrigenda* is by no means exhaustive. Burmese words are often sadly mangled : *Hop-u* for *Hpo-u*, *Kanbide* for *Kanbwe*, *Ke-Hkayaina* for *Ko-Hkayaing* are examples.

The bibliography is not up to date: the late Professor E. H. Johnston's article "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan" in *BSOAS.*, vol. xi, part 2, contains an edition of an inscription which is referred to on p. 282 as unedited; and the Mon history "Slapat Rājāwañ Datow Smin Roñ", edited by Schmidt in 1906, should have been noted as re-edited and translated by Halliday in 1923 (*JBR.S.*, vol. xiii, part 1). This last work is cited on p. 74 as a "local Burmese chronicle" and in the bibliography has the last words of its title represented by *surim rou*.

J. A. STEWART.

BURMESE FAMILY. By MI MI KHAING. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 138. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1946.

"The exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting from the truth of the description and the sentiments"—some share, at least, of Scott's praise of Jane Austen is merited by the writer of this book. Her social milieu was even narrower than Jane's. She was the daughter of a Burmese official family liable to frequent transfers, was sent to a European school, and had little opportunity of mingling in the life of the community where her temporary home might be. Her characters belong almost exclusively to an affectionate family circle. Her command of English is remarkable: one of the few expressions which one queries, but with hesitation, is "voluminous jars" (p. 21), applied to miniature Ali Baba jars.

The reader will be wise to check all botanical names of trees and plants, to distrust pronouncements on points involving knowledge of Burmese—the "legs" of glutinous rice (p. 45) and the "black" Arakanese (p. 106) are first-class howlers; and to skim all excursions on outlying subjects such as the manufacture of lacquer-ware (p. 25) and the powers of village headmen (p. 46).

But on domestic life at home or among relatives of a different totem, on Burmese cookery, on dress, the marriage market, undergraduate life at Rangoon, and a variety of subjects, about which it has sources of information denied to most readers, the book may rank as a social document of considerable value.

The pen-and-ink sketches by E. G. N. Kinch are admirable.

J. A. STEWART.

TIDES FROM THE WEST, A CHINESE AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By CHIANG MONLIN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vi + 282. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. 20s. net.

In his autobiography Chiang Monlin, former Minister for Education under Chiang Kai Shek and Secretary-General of the Yüan, gives an eyewitness account of what has happened in China in the last fifty years. Writing these memoirs in war years after 1938 in the quiet of Kunming, then isolated by the cutting of the Burma Road, the author was able from personal experience to trace the trend of events from early days in Chekiang to the social and political upheavals all over China, culminating in the Japanese invasion and defeat. His childhood in a small village of sixty households in Chekiang Province gave him a grounding in Confucian classics as well as chances to study nature. Then from Chekiang and later, Nanyang Universities, he went to America, graduating in 1912 with Honours in Education. In 1918 he came to assist Dr. Sun Yat Sen and later was appointed Professor of Education and Acting Vice-Chancellor of Peking University. He thus joined the band of enlightened teachers like Dr. Tsai and Dr. Hu Shih, who were creating "an oasis in the intellectual desert of Peiping". Student strikes were of constant occurrence, and the teachers, too, joined in the turmoil, all fomenting the general unrest in the land.

Chiang Monlin gives a vivid picture of the rise of the Kuomintang, its struggle with the warlords and the Communists, and of the emergence of Chiang Kai Shek as national leader, "building up adequate forces to resist Japanese invasion." There is a chapter on the four cities of Hanchow, city of natural beauty, Shanghai, city of foreign manufactures, Nanking, city of revolutionary spirit, and Peking, city of the golden age, art, and leisure. The Japanese procedure of "sweet words, then political intrigue, then intimidations, more sweet words, and finally blitzkrieg" was made very plain to those in Peking. Then came the Marco Polo incident of 1937 and finally war. The "migrations of institutions of learning from the seacoast to the interior has an important bearing on the future development of China's hinterland" and well merits the author's epithet of epoch making. The author is convinced that China has been oppressed all those many years and her one great wish is to be left alone. He holds that Confucius' teaching of proper human relations and world peace together with the democratic

ideas of Mencius fit China to be an inoffensive modern democratic state: modern science will fuse with China's rich treasures of art and sound morals. He shows how China absorbed Western culture just as she did Indian culture many centuries earlier.

H. M. LINDSAY.

THE JUNKS AND SAMPANS OF THE YANGTZE. By C. R. C. WORCESTER.
Chinese Maritime Customs, Miscellaneous Series, No. 53,
Vol. I, xxviii + 245 pp. Shanghai, 1947.

The Maritime Customs is an exceptionally important and interesting department of the Chinese Government. Although an integral section of that Government, its direction and working are delegated in the upper grades to men mainly of British nationality—surely one of the highest compliments one government can pay another, and a supreme tribute to the efficiency of the officers concerned, who besides carrying out their routine duties to the satisfaction of the Government and of the mercantile community take an enlightened interest in the technical and ethnographic aspects of their work. They have already published several monographs on some of the many strange craft that navigate the inland waterways of China, and in this, the latest of their contributions to science, they describe the numerous excellencies of Chinese boat design and building.

Eighty-three full-page plates and seventeen figures in the text give details of the construction of a large number of the principal types of harbour and coastal craft found in the ports of China as well as those distinctive of the maze of waterways which criss-cross the country between the estuary of the Yangtze and the great inland sea known as Tai Hu in the Province of Kiangsu. The Tai Hu has many of the characteristics of Holland, and the inhabitants in many parts live a semi-amphibious life, like the Dutch among their canals.

In a later volume we hope to have an equally detailed account of those queer craft used by fisherfolk of the minor rivers which flow down from the hills in Szechuan, Hunan and adjacent provinces to feed the Yangtze. These particulars should be of special interest to the ethnologist, for they will doubtless include such primitive types as the rectangular rafts used by the fishermen who employ

trained cormorants in their operations, and the strange tub-shaped family craft used by beggars and pedlars on their rounds among the larger craft anchored off Wu-Hu and neighbouring traffic-centres on the main stream of the Yangtze.

The treatment of the types of vessel, primitive as well as highly developed, described in this handsome volume, is admirable. Practically everything recorded by earlier writers has been woven into a coherent whole, and all salient points in the construction of the craft described are recorded in detail with the further elucidation of plans and figures wherever necessary.

A footnote on page 45 points out that in fishing junks the eyeball is often set low, so as to be on the alert to observe the presence of fish, whereas in the trading junk the eyes look straight ahead so as to perceive and avoid perils invisible to mortal sight.

JAMES HORNELL.

CHINA. Edited by HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xxix + 573. The United Nations Series. University of California Press.

"The United Nations Series is dedicated," a foreword announces, "to the task of mutual understanding among the Allies of the Second World War and to the achievement of successful co-operation in the peace."

The present well-produced volume is the fifth in the series.

As it can hardly be the intention of the editors to deal with all the fifty-odd nations concerned, it is perhaps unfortunate that, with so many others to choose from, they included China in the series at all. There are already a vast number of books on China, and it is hardly possible to present a comprehensive survey of the many aspects of the country in 500 pages. There are thirty-three contributors, of whom eleven are Chinese and the rest American; and their subjects include History, Religion, Philosophy, Art, Architecture, Literature, Education, Trade, Drama, Politics, etc. To deal with these subjects in tabloid form can only be unsatisfactory and the avowed object of the editors might have been better served if the book had been confined to an account of the social and political aspect of China since the fall of the Manchu dynasty.

Of the various articles presented, many are exceedingly sketchy, and the book gives the impression of having been thrown together

rather than compiled. It cannot compare with the *Symposium of Chinese Culture*, almost entirely the work of Chinese writers, published by the China Institute of Pacific Relations in 1933.

Some of the chapters, e.g. those on the Drama and Architecture, might well have been omitted. The historical section, a third of the book, is dealt with by ten separate authors. It would have been better to have entrusted this subject to one author who could have been relied on to write clearly and to regard fact as more important than sentiment.

Philosophy and Religion, a fifth of the whole, is dealt with by only six authors and is perhaps the most valuable part of the book, although if the whole of this section had been entrusted to Dr. Hu Shih, whose contribution is regrettably short, the result would have been more satisfactory.

The illustrations are decorative if not all well chosen.

E. B. HOWELL.

India

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF GUJARAT (INCLUDING KATHIAWAR). By H. D. SANKALIA. 10 × 7½, pp. i-x + 268 + 107, Appendix, and Index. Bombay : Natwarlal and Co., 1941. Rs. 15.

The author has not only examined a wide range of literature, but investigated sites and museums where material was to be found. The work is packed with information critically handled and should be attractive to any interested in Indian culture.

One of its chief values is perhaps as a digest of the arguments of many authorities on aspects of archæological research with an indication of what further research is desirable. For example, for pre-history almost nothing seems to have been done ; yet the geographical position of Gujarāt and Kathiawar would seem to promise much material.

Authentic history begins with the Mauryas about 319 B.C., but there are legends telling of the rule of the Yadavas under Kṛṣṇa ages before. After the Mauryas and the Bactrian Greeks followed a bewildering series of rulers in which the Śakas, Guptas, Gurjjaras, Arabs, Cālukyās, and Muslims played their parts. The name Gujarāt, called after the Gurjjaras, is said to have been applied

by the Muslims (A.D. 1295-1473). Under British rule "Gujarāt falls into two broad divisions", one part divided under Indian States, of which Baroda is the largest, and the other part of the Bombay Presidency.

Of architecture the earliest remains are the caves of Junagarh (c. 200 B.C.), one of which has a circular apsidal end. Here is the type of ogee arch, called in this work *chaitya*-window, which seems to have been used first in India over the entrance to cave shrines and was probably derived from the gable of a wooden and grass-built hut like those of the Todas of the Nilgiris. It also closely resembles the gable end of monolithic Lycian tombs. In miniature it was widely used as a decorative feature in Indian temples and occurs on ancient buildings in the Salt Range, in Gandhāra sculpture, at Ajanta and elsewhere. It is called a window by Dr. Sankalia because it spans the light opening above a cave entrance and is used as a canopy over figures or heads which gives the impression that they are looking from a window or balcony. Reference is made to the façade of the Talaja caves where the extrados of the arch is "half oval" (semi-elliptical), the intrados, trefoil. The trefoil is typical in Kashmir stone temples where the centre foil is usually stilted and the whole is contained within a straight-sided pointed gable. As a decorative feature on fragments found at Murti in the Salt Range, the opening beneath the ogee arch is circular and contains a flying or floating figure.

The author deals with the *śikhara* (spire) or *vimāna* whose variations help to date the temples they adorn. "It is in the pre-Caulukyan *śikharas* that we find a way towards the Caulukyan style." Lakes, wells, and reservoirs come under review as religious structures. The Mānsar Lake, c. A.D. 1100, is said to have had on its banks 520 temples. Gateways and walls are dealt with as "military architecture". The "wooden character of the construction" of some gateways is noticed. I believe that misapprehension exists as to the imitation of wood construction in stone. A beam of wood and a trave of stone are much the same, though for convenience the stone trave is generally used shorter than the wooden beam. It is this shortness of the stone that inspired the construction of the ceiling in the Kashmir temple so often quoted as a typical example of woodwork translated into stone. But it is a quite logical stone construction emphasized by the closing of the spaces between the "beams" by stone slabs, an arrangement far less satisfactory

if wooden planks were used. Similar ceilings in domestic architecture carried out in wood might be evidence of the joiner copying the mason. Wood construction may have been applied to stone, but the charge of imitation is often made through lack of practical knowledge.

The evolution of the *kīrtimukha*, the grotesque face used so much in Indian architectural sculpture, is referred back to the Gupta temples and Ajanta. It is as much at home in Chinese, Greek, Norman, Gothic, and many other arts. Mythical animals such as the *Makara* are equally so.

Iconography describes poses and emblems. Identification of particular gods or goddesses is not always easy owing to variations in the individual sculptors' conceptions or to their ignorance of traditional forms. The gods also had the disturbing habit of borrowing one another's symbols. The author is not quite kind to the little *amorini* figures often met with, which he calls dwarfs, and further maligns as "stunted, pot-bellied, oval-faced figures", which usually they are not. As he classes the Gandhāra garland-carrying *putti* in the same category he clearly is not familiar with them, or is prejudiced against them. The Ajanta paintings show queer little dwarfs, but these are different from the happy little creatures of Gandhāra sculpture, the Mirān wall paintings and the Buddhist painted silk banners from the Thousand Buddhas.

The next section deals with Epigraphy. Although stone seems to have been the earliest material used copper appears quite early, probably for convenience and portability. The script is Brahmi in various forms. Eras are many and involved, Śāka, Gupta with modifications, Cedi or Kalacchurī, Vikrama, Simha, and Hijari, often overlapping and sometimes mixed. Emblems and seals are also described.

The evolution of coinage in Gujarāt is traced, although not in great detail, from the pre-Greek with swastika, trisūla, and cakra symbols. Others are punch-marked and a few cast. Their form, as in the succeeding Bactrian coins, is either round or square, and the materials copper and silver. With the introduction of Bactrian Greek coinage crude designs and execution gave way to the art of Greece. The bust of a king and the legend in Greek appeared on the obverse and the legend in Kharoṣṭhī with a standing god or goddess—Athene, Apollo, etc.—on the reverse. Later, deterioration set in and the Greek characters became meaningless imitations.

Indian symbols returned with Kharoṣṭī and Brahmi legends. The bust survived for some time, but lost its Greek beauty.

Administration seems to have been by provincial governors or rājas responsible to a superior ruling power, but with a comparatively free hand in internal affairs. Some such system was perhaps in force during the Maurya period. With the decline of this power the country was split up into several autonomous states governed by local kings; under the Greeks it was divided into districts and small units, each with its headman and minor officials and each in turn answerable to a superior.

The chapter on Society is concerned mainly with the growth of power of the Brāhmaṇas who, on the introduction of Buddhism, lost for a time many of their privileges, but retained the "esteem and respect of their rulers". Aśoka "enjoined his people to respect Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas" who, as inscriptions prove, therefore received financial support from certain sections of the community, chiefly for the performance of sacrifices which the author thinks were never carried out.

The earliest form of religion in Gujarāt may be assumed to be some form of Brāhmanism. Although there seems to be no evidence, the author suggests Sun worship may have come as early as the fifth century B.C. from the Magas at the time of Darius. There is evidence of Sun worship at later periods, even down to the thirteenth century A.D. That Śaivism, too, was popular there is much archæological evidence to show. The Sahasraliṅga Talao, a lake made by Siddharāja Jayasimha (twelfth century) had a thousand lingas of Śiva placed round it in small temples. Jainism flourished and Ābu is witness to its lavish temples. Reference is made to the rivalry between the two sects—Śvetāmbāra and Digambara, in which the former proved the stronger. There seems to have been a limited Gaṇeśa cult and a Kṛṣṇa cult, one inscription recording gifts, etc., for the worship, offering, and theatricals in honour of Kṛṣṇa.

The forms of worship in all temples appear to be almost identical and continue so. Auspicious days are many, some affording occasions for merrymaking. One, especially sacred even to-day, is that on which Viṣṇu is married to the Tulsi plant, in a former existence wife of the demon Jālandhara.

There is nothing to show the history and progress of Gujarāti literature until the fifth and sixth centuries when impetus was

given to Prākṛit religious works. After that religious and secular treatises in "vast quantity" were written in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa, and old Gujarāṭi, and included Grammar, Drama, Poetry, Logic, and Philosophy.

Gujarāt of the early period has nothing equal to the cave paintings of other parts of India. In sculpture it seems to have been stronger and in certain forms of Viṣṇu and Sūrya "seems, in our present state of knowledge, to be unique".

The author concludes that Gujarāt had two cultural phases; the first, up to the tenth century, receptive, the second creative in every sphere of life—art, architecture, literature, and religion.

Besides map and plans there are twenty-nine plates of architecture and sculpture, mostly from photographs generally out of focus and unaccountably printed in an unpleasant pale brown-pink. There is an index, divided into four sections, but the absence of a glossary of technical terms with the English equivalents or translations is regrettable. The many *āsanas*, *mudrās*, *vāhanas*, cults, and festivals need elucidating for the less erudite. There is an attempt to define Sanskrit architectural terms, but here even "doctors differ". The author's acquaintance with English architectural terms is, on the whole, good. There is, however, the common misapprehension of the distinction between *base* and *basement* and between *lintel* and *architrave*. *Cyma recta* he joins into one word. A footnote reference on p. 154 to fig. 45 should be fig. 49. Unequal spacing (leading) of lines on a few pages has doubtless a practical reason. The printing, paper, and general style are good.

H. HARGREAVES.

INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE PREHISTORIC ARCHEOLOGY OF GUJARAT.

The Official Report of the First Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition, 1941-2. By Dr. H. D. SANKALIA. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xviii + 326, 6 maps, 8 text illustrations, 31 plates. Baroda State Press, 1946.

The first chipped stone implement found in India was discovered in 1863 by the late R. Bruce Foote, of the Geological Survey of India, and thirty years later he recovered from the bed of the Sabarmati River what he considered the earliest artifacts in India. Foote may be considered the pioneer of Indian prehistoric studies, which since his time have attracted less attention than other

aspects of Indian Archæology. This volume continues Foote's researches on the very ground which had led him to important conclusions on the Stone Age in India. He had in the Sabarmati basin discovered typical palæoliths deposited by flood action in a bed of coarse gravel over which more than 50 feet of alluvial material had been piled by the action of the river and later a great thickness of loess heaped up by westerly winds. On the top of the loess he discovered tiny implements of agate, chert, chalcedony, jasper, quartz, etc., which he considered to be the earliest remains of the Neolithic people. From this he concluded that a great gap of time existed between the formations in which the palæoliths were found and those yielding microliths.

To test Foote's theory, to search for traces of Early Man and associated fossil fauna in the river beds of Gujarat, to excavate a few microlithic sites and see if a correlation could be established between the material from the river survey and from the excavations appeared most desirable and this was the aim of the First Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition in 1941-2 under the leadership of Dr. H. D. Sankalia, with the collaboration of Dr. B. K. Chatterjee and Mr. V. D. Krishnaswami.

The author surveys the geologic and geographical aspects of the basins of the rivers Sabarmati and Orsang, and then considers its palæolithic industry, describing the principal find spots of the artifacts, and illustrating them by seven excellent cross sections of the river-banks. Consideration is given to the composition of the gravel and gravel-conglomerate yielding the palæoliths and it is remarked that while the artifacts obtained in the Sabarmati area belong to the period when the conglomerate was being formed those in the Orsang basin were collected from the gravel and that many were rolled and weather worn, very few being sharp or fresh.

Dr. Sankalia considers that the technique of the palæoliths "postulate, an advanced stage in stone chipping: Levallois-like flakes, and core tools, flaked with free and even controlled method, and regular sharp edge around the implement".

The author states that "The European palæolithic industries with which the Gujarat ones compare favourably are the lower palæolithic tools grouped typologically and stratigraphically into the Chellean, the Acheulean, and the Micoquian". He is also of opinion that the early palæolithic industry in the Nile Valley exhibits—apart from minor differences—an evolution more or less parallel

to that in the Sabarmati Valley, but infers nothing more than a close typological similarity between the two. He notes, too, that in Europe, Palestine, Egypt, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Rhodesia, South Africa, Java, South India, and Punjab the typological sequence synchronizes with the stratigraphical, whereas in Gujarat a mixed industry is found in the very lowest stratum.

Of the composition, formation, and special features of the numerous loess hills and dunes found in Northern Gujarat a clear and detailed account is given: from loess sites discovered by Foote and from twenty-six others numerous microliths were obtained. The principles governing their selection and classification as cores, blades, scrapers, points, etc., are explained and all the finds are fully described and well illustrated in the plates. At two sites carefully executed excavations yielded not only microliths, but also bones, bone splinters, shells, potsherds, and a terracotta figurine. Some of the finds can hardly be designated microlithic; one noted on p. 52, being 3 inches in length, while another is stated to be "polished like a neolith". Most of the microliths are primary flakes and consist of a series of lunates or crescents, at times sharp on both sides, triangles, semi-triangles, or square scrapers, tiny disc-like pieces and cores. No genuine burin was recovered and none of the blades had a serrated edge.

This Gujarat Microlithic Culture is considered by the author to be similar to those found on isolated areas in Europe, in Britain, in sand dunes or on sandy wastes, and those found in South Africa, Palestine, Ceylon, and different parts of India. He thinks it cannot be called a Mesolithic Culture since no stratigraphical evidence is available to connect it with the preceding palæolithic culture, the immediately preceding Upper Palæolithic Culture itself being absent or hitherto undiscovered in India. For the same reason it cannot definitely be called a Neolithic Culture.

Potsherds recovered with the microliths comprised red and black wares, both hand and wheel made. "There is nothing distinctive about them. This much, however, appears certain that potsherds are either later and subsequent to microliths, or that they belong to a later period (?) of microliths."

Numerous bone splinters were found, the first bone microliths to be recovered in India. These bone objects vary in length from a quarter of an inch to one inch, and in breadth and thickness from a quarter to half an inch. Some pieces are "charred", though all

are partially fossilized. Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators are convinced that these pieces are tools "since they showed not only intentional chipping but always at a certain point in a definite manner".

The few other bone finds recovered by excavation are dealt with briefly by Professor A. H. Khan and Dr. I. Karve, and comprise both animal and human remains, the latter consisting of fragments of skulls and a piece of a mandible with the first and second molars, but insufficient to throw much light upon the human types. The animal remains are of the goat and ox or similar bovines.

Foote had remarked on the absence of fossil remains in the Gujarat loess, but Dr. Sankalia found in excavations at Langhnaj "a few fossilized remains of animals, the skeleton of a small lizard-like animal and land and freshwater shells".

Though the objects of the expedition have not been realized in their entirety the author and his colleagues are to be congratulated on this comprehensive record of their valuable finds.

A full bibliography, an index, and excellent maps and plates make this a worthy addition to the Memoirs of the Baroda State.

H. HARGREAVES.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO ARABIC LITERATURE. By ZUBAID AHMAD. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxx + 432 + 52. Jullundur City (Punjab): Maktaba-i-Din-o-Danish, 1946.

Dr. Zubaid Ahmad submitted this book as a thesis for the Ph.D. at London in 1929; his supervisor was Sir Thomas Arnold, and he was well guided. A less resolute man might have been daunted by the succession of difficulties and misfortunes which prevented his book from appearing before now. But Dr. Ahmad shows throughout his work that he is an indomitable wrestler with all kinds of problems. His book will long remain a standard work. It is impossible here to join issue on details, or even to argue the fundamental points of principle on which the author has based his definition of "the contribution of India"; it must suffice to say that there is room for argument. Dr. Ahmad is to be congratulated on having given to the world a monument not only to his own pertinacity and erudition, but also to the memory of his distinguished teacher.

A. J. ARBERRY.

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA PRESENTATION VOLUME. A Volume of Indological Studies. pp. xxviii, 522. Adyar, Madras, 1946. Rs. 15.

The editors are to be congratulated on the generally high standard of the contributions to this volume in honour of one of India's foremost Sanskrit scholars.

Vidushekhara Bhattacharya gives an edition of the section on *ātmavāda* from the *Bahubhūmikavastu* of Asanga's *Yogācārabhūmi*, with full use of the Tibetan translation. W. Norman Brown interprets *Rgveda* iv, 42, as portraying King Trasadasyu as an incarnation of Indrāvaruṇā. H. I. Poleman discusses the concept of the *preta*. L. Renou proposes a new interpretation of the term *upaniṣad*, taking it to mean primarily "connection" (as for example in Vedic commonplaces such as "Agni is the Sun"); as a development from which, Pali *upaniṣā*, "cause," can be readily understood. I. J. S. Taraporewala interprets the ten mares and the stallion of *Yasna* xlv, 18, as the ten senses and the mind (taking also *uṣtra* as "illumination"), comparing the symbolism of *Kaṭha Up.* i, 3, 3-6. J. Bloch gives etymological notes on *pśu* (*Rgveda* iii, 53, 23), *dravyam*, *vātāvali*, and *johār*. H. D. Velankar discusses Varāhamihira and Utpala on Sanskrit metres. T. R. Chintamani stresses the importance of the commentary of Bhavasvāmin for the criticism of the text of the *Nārada-smṛti*, and gives a detailed list of variants. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar discusses the right of self-defence in Hindu law. A. Aiyappan quotes archæological evidence in favour of interpreting *vrkṣa* in *Atharva-veda* xviii, 2, 25, as "coffin". K. Goda Varma contributes phonetic notes on the vowel-sounds of Coorg. O. H. de A. Wijesekera interprets the seven female figures on an Indus Valley seal as symbolizing the seven rivers of the *Rgveda*. F. W. Thomas discusses the expression *ātmahita*.

J. BROUGH.

ANEKĀRTHA TILAKA OF MAHĪPA. Critically edited by MADHUKAR MANGESH PATKAR. (Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography, 1.) pp. 4, 215. Deccan College, Poona, 1947. Rs. 6.

This is the first volume of a projected series of editions of hitherto unpublished Sanskrit lexicons, undertaken with the ultimate aim of compiling a comprehensive dictionary of the *kośa*-material.

The present text, composed in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D., is based, as the author states, on Pāṇini, Patañjali, Amara, Hemacandra, and others, but may possibly provide some fragments of new information. It has four chapters, containing words of from one to four syllables respectively, the material in each being arranged roughly in alphabetical order. A useful index is provided to the words of the definitions.

J. BROUGH.

FURTHER SOURCES OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A. . . . and N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.
3 vols. pp. iii, ii, 396 ; i, i, x, 448 ; i, x, 329, i. Madras : University of Madras, 1946.

These tomes are *bonæ frugis*. Volume I, which is the work of Dr. Venkataramanayya alone and bears the modest title of "Introduction", surveys the history of the Empire in the light of the additions to our knowledge contained in Volumes II and III and elsewhere. As is fitting, it begins with a review of the "sources" printed in Volume II. These include works of the *kāla-jñāna* species (pseudo-prophetic in form and jejune, but giving much valuable information), monographs couched in higher literary style, *praśastis* of kings in inscriptions and charters, statements found in literary writings of diverse sorts, *biruda-gadyas* or bards' recitations of royal titles and the chronicles into which some of them have grown, village registers and the *kaifiyats* in which they have been summarized, and many other writings. Next is traced the evolution of the Empire of Vijayanagar from the kingdom of Kampili, and good evidence is adduced to show that Harihara, the son of Saṅgama, after serving under Pratāparudra Kākatīya of Warangal, embraced Islām with his brother Bukka, received from Muḥammad ibn Tughluq the governorship of Kampili not long after 1330, established his rule over practically the whole Carnatic between 1336 and 1346, and then headed the revolt of the Hindu states in the Deccan against the Sultan. On the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar interesting and valuable light is thrown in chapter 5. The following chapters trace the course of the Empire's destinies through the years of magnificent splendour to its decline and fall, ending with the death of Śrīraṅga III in 1681.

It is regrettable that in this volume the Persian quotations are

not given in proper type: they have been written out by hand, not very neatly, and blocks have been made thence. An example of the danger of this clumsy method is to be seen in the footnote on page 349. Incidentally, the plural of *Būstān* is *Basāfīn*, and not *Busātīn*, as given on that page and elsewhere, and the metre of the Sanskrit stanza quoted on page 108 is not *anuṣṭubh*, as is stated there, but *āryā*. But these are minor matters.

In Volumes II and III we have the joint work of the two authors. Volume II comprises 253 "sources" collected from Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, Malayalam, and Persian writings of very various kinds, ranging from the elegance of courtly poems to the simplicity of jejune legal records and village chronicles, but all contributing some light to the great theme and many intrinsically interesting for their literary merits. The distinguished authors may be congratulated: they have not only collected much precious material but built with it a goodly monument.

L. D. BARNETT.

ON THE CHRONICLES OF CEYLON. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph Series, Vol. III. By BIMALA CHURN LAW, D.Litt., Ph.D., M.A., B.L. pp. viii + 76. Calcutta, 1947.

No more competent scholar could have been found than Dr. Law to bring together the available material on the chronicles of Ceylon and to present it in a manner that enables one to judge of its worth. The *Dīpavamsa*, the oldest known Pali chronicle, and the *Mahāvamsa*, an abler work also in Pali, receive very full treatment. The *Mahāvamsa* was so named not only because it is the chronicle of great kings and teachers, but also because it deals with great themes. The principal themes in both works are the Buddha's visits to the island, its conquest by the Aryan prince Vijaya, the origin of the Buddhist sects and schools of thought, and the establishment of the Buddhist Orders. In the *Dīpavamsa* the historical motive predominates over the poetical, anything approaching real poetry being found only in the introductory verses and a few verses in the first two chapters. Each chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* closes with verses on the evanescent character of the kingly state and the value of meritorious deeds that endure. We see in this great work, Geiger says, "the hand of the poet, working deliberately, lingering over his material, and endeavouring to clothe it in suitable form."

The national mind has found permanent expression in it. In spite of their imperfections the chronicles of Ceylon "are an indispensable source-book of history", enjoying, as Dr. Law puts it, "a triple importance through their bearing on the early political history of India and Ceylon and the early history of Buddhism." For the *theras* or elders were chroniclers of both the political and the ecclesiastical history of the island, though their primary interest was in Buddhism and Buddhist foundations. Simhapura, the homeland of Prince Vijaya, Dr. Law identifies with Simhapura of the lower eastern Punjab, and draws attention to the fact that the oldest form of Sinhalese, as found in the early Brahmi inscriptions, is an Indo-Aryan dialect closely allied to the language of the Mansehra version of Asoka's Rock Edicts.

M. S. H. THOMPSON.

EVOLUTION OF THE KHALSA, Vol. II. The Reformation. By INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 161 and Appendices pp. 162-196. Calcutta : A. Mukerjee and Co., 1947.

This is the second volume of a book by the Head of the Department of History in the Calcutta University. The first volume (published in 1936) dealt with the pacific period of Sikh history up to A.D. 1606, and that now under review carries us through the more turbulent and more constructive era of the later Gurus up to the death of Guru Gobind Singh in A.D. 1708. The author has made a comprehensive use of his various authorities—Gurmukhi, Persian, and English—and after detailing the earlier developments of the Panth gives a full description of the reorganization of the wars connected with the name of the Tenth Guru. In analyzing the leading difficulties and paradoxes of Sikh history he adopts, as a rule, a cautious attitude distrustful of mere legend but full of sympathy for the Sikhs. Among the questions with which he deals are the much debated possibility of reconciling the later Sikhism with the teachings of Baba Nanck : the allegation that the Sikh uprisings were due entirely to the execution of their Gurus by the Mogul Government ; the respective aspects of the Sikh Religion attributable to spiritual influences and to the national characteristics of its Jat adherents ; the relation of the democratic basis of Sikhism with the autocracy of the Gurus ; the reported worship of Durga by Guru Gobind Singh ; and his apparent reconciliation in his last years with the

Mogul authorities. Our author holds, in opposition to some distinguished Indian historians, that Guru Gobind Singh was in no way opposed to the Muslim religion, but only to Mogul tyranny and he speaks of the Guru as one of the greatest of Indians of all ages, as a great general and a great saint. His book should attract the attention of all interested in the Sikhs.

The historical part of the volume is somewhat economical of dates and one would have been glad to have seen it illustrated by a map to show the position of some at least of the obscure Panjab villages so frequently mentioned in the annals of the Gurus.

E. D. MACLAGAN.

THE STŪPA IN CEYLON. By S. PARANAVITANA. Memoirs of the Archæology Survey of Ceylon, Vol. V. 12 × 9½, pp. 105, pl. xxii, figs. 13.

Dr. Paranavitana's long connection with the Archæological Survey, of which he is now the head, has rendered him familiar with the ancient monuments of Ceylon, and the volumes of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* edited by him testify to his eminence in epigraphy. As a Pali scholar, he possesses an intimate knowledge of the ancient chronicles which contain such valuable information on the history of the famous sanctuaries of Lankā.

His book opens with a historical chapter. He then gives an accurate and full account of the *stūpa* and its square superstructure, called *caturassa-caya*, "four-cornered pile," in the *Mahāvamsa*. A Pali equivalent of Skt. *harmikā* appears to be unknown in Ceylon. This superstructure has remained a constant feature of the Ceylonese *stūpa*, testifying to the remarkably conservative character of the island's sacred architecture and making a study of these *stūpas* very instructive. Study, however, is hampered by injudicious renovations which have had "more deplorable results than the previous neglect of over seven centuries".

An interesting feature of the Sinhalese *stūpa* is dealt with in Chapter IV. Several of the larger *stūpas* at Anurādhapura and elsewhere in Ceylon have at the cardinal points offsets, called *vāhalkaḍa* in modern Sinhalese. The Pali term, found in an inscription of the third century, is *ayaka*. Dr. Paranavitana rightly connects this with the word *āyaka* in Amarāvati inscriptions and in the compound *āyakakambha*. The *stūpas* of the lower Kistna

valley seem to have been provided with similar projections, but in mode of construction these platforms differ from the *vāhalkaḍas* of Ceylon. Probably the latter were meant for relics, as the one on the south side of the Ruvanvāli Dāgāba was found to contain a chamber on a level with the relic-chamber in the dome (p. 53). In several temples it can be proved that they were later additions.

Chapter VI on the *cetiya-ghara* is also of great interest on account of the connection between the edifices of this name (the Thūpārāma of Anurādhapura and the Vāṭa-dāgē of Polonnaruva are well-known examples) and the early apsidal temples of the Indian Continent. Dr. Paranavitana's monograph bears ample evidence to his wide knowledge and sound judgment and it is well illustrated.

J. PH. VOGEL.

Islam

ISLAMIC INFLUENCES ON THE JEWISH WORSHIP. By N. WIEDER.
pp. 102. Oxford: East and West Library, 1947. 12s. 6d.

This book is written in Hebrew with an appendix of passages in Judæo-Arabic from *Kifāyat al-'ābidīn* by Abraham the son of Maimonides. The following practices are ascribed to Muslim influence: washing the feet before prayer, bathing after ritual pollution, repeating the Eighteen Blessings aloud, prostration during the service, facing the east and stretching out the hands in petition. This last was at first a Jewish practice, but it was given up because Christians explained it as a memorial of the crucifixion; in the Epistle of Barnabas the action of Moses at the battle against Amalek is explained in the same way. Sufism also left its mark on the Jews, affecting even the vocabulary. As true worship is worship in the heart, prayer is exalted above other religious practices, that connote worship in the members; prayers are multiplied in which the saint communes with God. The proofs might have been read with more care.

A. S. TRITTON.

IBN KUTAIBA—KITĀB AL-ASHRIBA. Ed. by MUHAMMAD KURD
'Alī. pp. 127. Damascus, 1947.

A Muslim book on drinks deals mainly with *nabīdh* for wine is forbidden and needs no words. Opinions differed whether *nabīdh*

was lawful or not. It was made from dates or grapes ; there are references to the employment of water and heat in its preparation, but it is assumed that the processes are well known ; the nature of the vessel in which it was stored affected its lawfulness, according to an ancient tradition. Wine can change into *khall*, which is presumably the boiled wine of the papyri. The conclusion is that the middle way is the right one ; it must not be condemned absolutely nor are all sorts to be allowed. The book is what might be expected ; quotations from the Koran and tradition, etymologies, anecdotes, and scraps of verse. There is little that is not closely connected with the subject. The editor has done his work well and there is an index of persons and places. The short introduction fulfils its purpose.

A. S. TRITTON.

Art & Archaeology

ART AND THOUGHT. Edited by K. BHARATHA IYER. 10 × 7½, pp. i-xvi + 1-259, 51 pls. Luzac and Co., 1947.

This interesting and varied collection of essays was designed to commemorate the seventieth birthday of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, but has become a posthumous tribute to his memory. An autobiography he refused to write because, for a philosopher convinced that man's task is to become "no one", personal history was vanity. Yet he had, the editor tells us, "the attitude of the Buddha of compassion who refuses to enter Nirvana 'before the least blade of grass has been redeemed'." Hyperbole perhaps but praise that shows how he was honoured.

Coomaraswamy was devoted to art and to the *philosophia perennis* and these forty essays reflect his interests and his influence. The late Dr. L. Scherman writes on *Siddha* texts in Japan. Four articles deal with the origin of well-known *motifs* in Chinese art. Professor G. Tucci writes on Tibetan book-covers, Stella Kramrisch on the banner of Indra, Dr. V. S. Agrawala on the Gupta Temple at Devagarh. A notable paper on Rajput Art by Dr. Goetz breaks new ground. Mr. Schroeder in a study of Mughal painting devotes a whole page to expanding with some ignorance of physics and philosophy the truism that convex planes are a characteristic of ideal sculpture. The convex has no better claim

than the concave to be "true to Ultimate Reality", and the admirable convention may be a survival of a superstitious fear of hungry and sick emaciation or of primitive avoidance of difficult technique. It is never easy to "unscrew the inscrutable" (to borrow a wise-crack from an American contributor), and not all the writers here have succeeded, some of the Europeans having an imperfect knowledge of English. One of the clearest of the philosophical essays is by S. Radhakrishnan.

Mr. K. S. Sorabji defends aristocracy and caste against the ruthlessness and corruption of "termite totalitarianism". Captain A. M. Ludovici for the creation of a high culture advocates the inbreeding of segregated races of high quality, and argues that "only when the instinct of workmanship and its sense of quality has vanished from a people can they be induced to vote at all in elections without that self-reproach which overtakes all those whose higher impulses forbid their performing any task badly". *Procul o, procul este profani!* Make way, cur and spaniel, for Brahmins "the mastiffs of mankind"!

R. O. WINSTEDT.

Miscellaneous

JUKAGIRISCH UND URALISCH. By B. COLLINDER. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1940: 8. 9½ × 6½, pp. 144. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1940. Price 4·50 Swedish kronor.

The Yukagirs, or, to give them their official name, the Odul's, number only some four hundred. They live in the extreme north-east of Siberia, in two groups: the southern on the rivers Korkodon and Yasachna (tributaries of the Kolyma), the northern in an area north-west of the mouth of the Kolyma, on and to the east of the upper course of the Alaseya. Professor Collinder seeks to prove that the language of the Yukagirs is related to the Uralian family of languages, which comprises Finno-Ugrian (Finnish, Hungarian, etc.) and Samoyede.

Collinder first discusses (pp. 3-19) the views hitherto held on the affinities of Yukagir. He goes on to enumerate the data for the study of the language, recording (p. 16) that the great Yukagir specialist, Jokhelson, completed a large dictionary, unfortunately

still unpublished at his death and apparently inaccessible. The Introduction ends with remarks on (a) methodology, and (b) the Yukagir people. The largest section of the book (pp. 20-75) deals exhaustively with the morphological similarities between Yukagir and Uralian, cf. for instance the comitative ending Yukagir *-ne*, Yurak-Samoyede *-ña* (also Finnish *-ine*, Lappish *-in(ä ?)*) as in Yukagir *met ečieñe kieče* "I—with father—came": Yurak-Samoyede *man nišaniña hantam* "I—with my father—am walking" (pp. 35-6). The nominal flexion, the formation and flexion of verbs, and the pronouns are discussed in turn. There then follow (pp. 75-87) thirty-one lexicographical similarities, cf. for instance Cheremiss *mane-*, Yurak-Samoyede *mān-*, Yukagir *mon-* "to say" (pp. 82-3). A short section (pp. 87-102) is devoted to the phonology; there is discussion of the phonetics of the language, of the variations between the northern and southern dialects, of variations within one dialect (e.g. *laxa* ~ *jaxa* "to arrive, come", *lūt* ~ *jūt* "smoke" in the southern dialect), a comparison of present-day Yukagir with the scanty data of earlier times, and, finally, some consideration whether there may exist in Yukagir something comparable to the consonantal ablaut ("stufenwechsel") of Uralian. Some general conclusions follow (pp. 102-8); the words where similarity has been noted are classified by meaning; there is some discussion of numerals, and the ethnological implications of the suggested relationship are outlined. Finally we have a Yukagir text, with translation and linguistic commentary.

The affinities of the Uralian family of languages have recently been the subject of much discussion. In his book, *Indo-uralisches sprachgut* (1934), Collinder himself upheld the theory that Uralian was related to Indoeuropean. In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, xi (1944), 328-356, T. Burrow revives Caldwell's theory that Uralian is related to Dravidian. In a whole series of publications (1933-7), G. de Hevesy suggests that Uralian is related to Munda. These publications are full of errors (cf. particularly R. L. Turner, *JRAS.*, 1934, pp. 799 ff.). In *Polski biuletyn orientalistyczny*, ii (1938),¹ 13-40, K. Régamey prunes de Hevesy's data of many of

¹ It is generally considered that the whole printing of vol. ii of this periodical (published in 1939) was burnt in Poland; but at least one copy has survived—that in the possession of the Instituut Kern at Leiden. I am very grateful to Dr. P. H. Pott, the Curator of this Institute, for having provided me with a photostatic copy of Régamey's article (de Hevesy's publications are listed by Régamey).

these, but accepts his thesis. On geographical grounds alone the finno-ugrist will be disinclined to believe that Uralian is related either to Dravidian or to Munda, though such considerations do not militate against either of the other two suggested relationships, Indoeuropean and Yukagir.

On *a priori* grounds it is possible that Yukagir and Uralian are related. The pronominal parallels given by Collinder at pp. 70-3 are most striking. Cf. 1st pers. sg. : Finnish *minä*, Yurak-Samoyede *mañ*, Yukagir *met* ; 1st pers. pl. : Finnish *me*, Yurak-Samoyede *mañä*, Yukagir *mit* ; 2nd pers. sg. : Cheremiss *tiñ*, Yurak-Samoyede *tannañ*, Yukagir *tet* ; 2nd pers. pl. : Mordvin *tiñ*, Tavgy-Samoyede *tēñ*, Yukagir *tit* ; "this" : Finnish *tämä*, Yurak-Samoyede *t'am*, South Yukagir *tiñ* ; "that" : Finnish *tuo*, Yurak-Samoyede *tāj*, Yukagir *tañ* ; "who ? ", etc. : (a) Finnish *kene*-, South Yukagir *kin* ; (b) Karelian *ku*, Yurak-Samoyede *hūj*, South Yukagir *xadi*. The lexicographical similarities brought forward are few ; two of them, Lappish *ačče* "father", Yurak-Samoyede *ñäečä* "little father", South Yukagir *ečie* "father" (p. 75), and Finnish *emä*, Ostyak-Samoyede *ämä*, South Yukagir *eme-i* "mother" (p. 76) would seem to be children's words (cf. Gothic *atta* "father", English *mum(my)*) and should be left out of account. Due weight must be given to the morphological similarities. Professor Collinder is to be congratulated on his lucidity. Even if his thesis cannot be regarded as proved, there seems some likelihood of the suggested relationship.

ALAN S. C. ROSS.

MAS'OU'D DU TOUR 'ABDIN. UN MYSTIQUE SYRIEN DU XV^e SIÈCLE.

Ed. by B. L. VAN HELMOND. Louvain : Bibliothèque du Muséon. Vol. 14. pp. 64 + 101. 1942.

Who was Mas'oud, the writer ? He may have been the Mas'oud who was consecrated schismatic patriarch of the Jacobites in 1493, but this is not certain. The present volume contains a treatise on theology dealing with the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Christian life. In the third part the writer follows the Areopagite in teaching a hierarchy of angels to which correspond the various orders in the church. Through these orders the divine secrets (sacraments) are communicated to men. Mas'oud has been influenced by his

environment, for Muslim theologians debated whether angels or men are the higher in rank and he gives the higher place to angels. He also says that angels bowed down to Muhammad, following the Koran. The treatise is accompanied by a translation in Latin and an introduction in French, which gives all the help that is needed for the understanding of the text.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF ARNOLD VON HARFF. Trans. and ed. by MALCOLM LETTS. pp. 35 + 325, ills., 47 (Hakluyt Society, second series, vol. xciv.) London, 1946.

Did this pilgrim keep a diary? How much was copied from similar tales? (In another sphere Ibn Batuta copied from Ibn Jubair.) What was inserted because it was expected by the audience? What scribal errors are there? Did von Harff go to India and the mountains of the Moon as he claims? Orientalists are not interested directly in the visits to Rome and Compostella. But on the journey from Cairo to the monastery of St. Catherine there is no hint that the travellers crossed the gulf of Suez, though they had the Red Sea on their left hand! The voyage from Rhodes to Alexandria lasted six days, but that from Socotra to Nubarta, a town in Ceylon, nine days! From Nubarta they sailed southwards for fourteen days to Ybadium, a big island near the mainland of India. Even supposing that Ybadium was not Yava (Java) but Ceylon, and that von Harff called at the two ports without knowing that they were both on the same island, the absurdities of the story are manifest. Still the pilgrim has much of value to say about the Near East. The editor's notes are always to the point.

A. S. TRITTON.

DE NEDERLANDERS IN VOOR-INDIË. By Dr. H. TERPSTRA. 8 × 5, pp. 205, pl. 15, sketch-maps 5. Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen and Son, 1947. Fl. 4.50.

This book describes Dutch commerce in India during the seventeenth century. The "Western Quarters" formed an indispensable link in the complicated trade of the Dutch E.I. Company

and the cotton goods of Coromandel were brought to the Moluccas and exchanged for spices.

Dutch trade was mainly concerned with four regions—Gujarāt, Bengal, Malabar, and Coromandel.¹ On arrival the Dutch were violently opposed by the Portuguese, but the capture of Cochin by Rycklof van Goens in 1663 was a decisive event in this prolonged struggle.

The chief factory of the Dutch E.I. Company was established at Surat in 1516 by Pieter van den Broecke. Frequently its "Moorish" governors tried to exploit the Firingi merchants, nor was it easy to obtain redress. An embassy to the Imperial Court was costly and hazardous. Yet in 1662 an embassy under Dirk van Adrichem went to Delhi to compliment Aurangzeb on his accession and to seek trading privileges. The ambassador was successful and is praised by Bernier. Dr. Terpstra shows that the journal of the embassy's trying travel through Rajputana and prolonged stay at the capital is interesting.² Even imperial *firmāns* were not always respected by governors, and in the eighteenth century they became quite useless. In such circumstances European merchants, whose aim was peaceful trade, were compelled to take arms against a sea of troubles: Western "imperialism" was born from Eastern misrule.

In places like Surat and Hugli the factors were at the mercy of the "Moors". But in Malabar and Coromandel, where potentates had less power than the Great Moguls, they contrived to build forts to protect their trade.

Dr. Terpstra's last chapter, "Our Heritage," describes the tombs and tombstones of Dutch factors, their wives and children, and secondly books written by Dutch in India. A minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Abraham Rogerius, accurately and sympathetically described the religion and customs of the Brahmins of Coromandel under the curious title *Open Door to Hidden Paganism* (1651). A. C. Burnell (1898) called it "the most complete account of Southern Indian Hinduism, though by far the earliest". It was translated into German (1663) and French (1670). An appendix contains a translation of 200 stanzas of Bhartṛhari (the *Nīti*- and

¹ From the beginning the Dutch E.I. Company entertained a factory at Agra on account of the indigo trade and the proximity of the imperial court.

² Edited by Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers in the works of the Linschoten Society, vol. xlv (1941). Cf. *JRAS.*, 1946, p. 124.

Vairāgyasatakam), the first specimen of Sanskrit literature rendered into a European language. Another "predikant", Philippus Baldaeus, produced a great work on Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon. It was dedicated to Cornelius de Witt, the brother of the famous statesman, John de Witt, whose tragic death he shared.

An imposing botanical work, the *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, written in Latin, in twelve folio volumes, is illustrated with hundreds of engravings of the plants of Malabar. It was composed by order of a nobleman, H. A. van Reede tot Drakenstein, who was Governor of Malabar and died in 1691 on his way to Surat, where his tomb is the most conspicuous monument of the Dutch cemetery. At Hugli the church, built by the Hollanders in 1678, still exists, and so do some of their forts, now mostly ruined, in Negapatam, Cananor, and other places in Coromandel.

The Dutch merchants at Surat and Agra took pains to learn not only Hindustānī but Persian. The first Hindustānī grammar and vocabulary were composed in Dutch by J. J. Ketelaar, a German in the service of the E.I. Company. Baldaeus (*supra*) contains a Tamil grammar, though the author confessed himself a tyro.

Dr. Terpstra notices the valuable reports of officers of the Dutch E.I. Company to the home authorities. The "Remonstrantie" of Francisco Pelsaert has been edited in English by W. H. Moreland (1925), and is a valuable source for our knowledge of Jahāngīr's India. But hundreds of volumes of documents relating to the E.I. Company preserved in the Government Record Office at The Hague are a mine of historical information only partially explored.

Dr. Terpstra quotes (p. 200) from K. M. Panikkar's *Malabar and the Dutch* (Bombay, 1931), which states that the Dutch were never guilty of inhuman cruelty like the Portuguese. "Many of the Dutch captains were popular with the Malabar rulers with whom they maintained the most friendly intercourse." "Their intentions were friendly and the hundred years of their connection with Malabar constituted a period in many ways beneficial to the growth of civilization in Malabar."

J. PH. VOGEL.

OBITUARY

Sir Richard Burn

By the death, in July 1947, of Sir Richard Burn at the age of 76, Indian scholarship has lost a distinguished student and the Council of this Society a highly valued colleague. Educated at Liverpool Institute and Christ Church, Oxford, he went to India in the Civil Service in 1891. After a few years of life among the people in the Districts, he was taken into the Secretariat of the United Provinces. His natural taste was for the history and archæology of India. Of these he acquired an encyclopædic knowledge, which was given wide scope by his selection to conduct the Census of his Province in 1901, and afterwards to edit the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. He afterwards held various appointments in the Secretariat. He was, however, very far from being the typical Secretariat Officer, as generally conceived in those days. He never failed to maintain the human touch with both Indians and Europeans. He was greatly relied upon by successive Governors of his Province in the troublous days of increasing nationalistic agitation before, during, and after the first World War. But for the affliction of increasing deafness, he would undoubtedly have risen even higher than he did.

After his retirement in 1926, and his settlement in Oxford, his principal literary work was connected with the *Cambridge History of India*. He contributed valuable chapters to the third and fourth volumes of that history, besides taking over and completing the editorship of the latter of these volumes, on the death of the previous editor. A similar fatality led to the assumption of the editorship of the second volume, though various circumstances prevented the conclusion of the task.

As a numismatist he was interested from the earliest years of his service in the coinage of India, contributing his first paper on the subject to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1897. He was a founder and some time President of the Numismatic Society of India, to whose annual publication he contributed many papers. From 1931 to 1938 he wrote the Note on numismatics for the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*. Without being

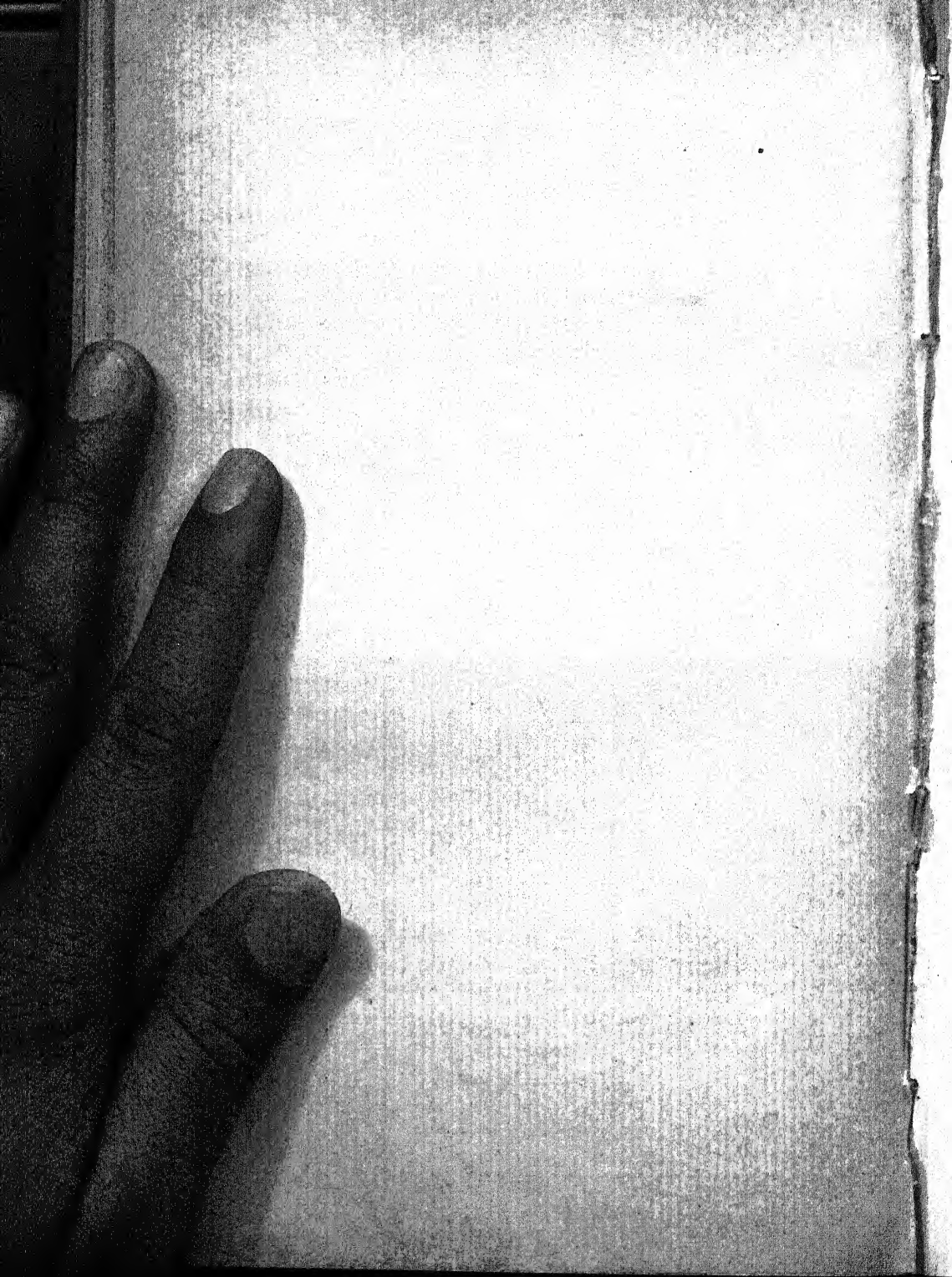
a specialist in any period, he had an extensive collection, and was especially skilful in reading Hindu superscriptions.

In comparison with his attainments, his literary output was not great. He was, however, always ready to assist with his learning others who were writing on a great variety of subjects. The exactness of his knowledge made him a very competent reviewer.

To his deafness was latterly added the affliction of failing eyesight. Both defects were alleviated by his astonishing memory and by his unfailing cheerfulness. It was tragic that his end should have come shortly after an operation had given hopes for the recovery of his sight. His judgment was as sound as his knowledge was wide.

By his friends, however, he will be remembered above anything else as a singularly lovable character.

PATRICK CADELL.





I. SIVA : bronze. Found in the Kistna delta, Madras. Second half of seventh century A.D.

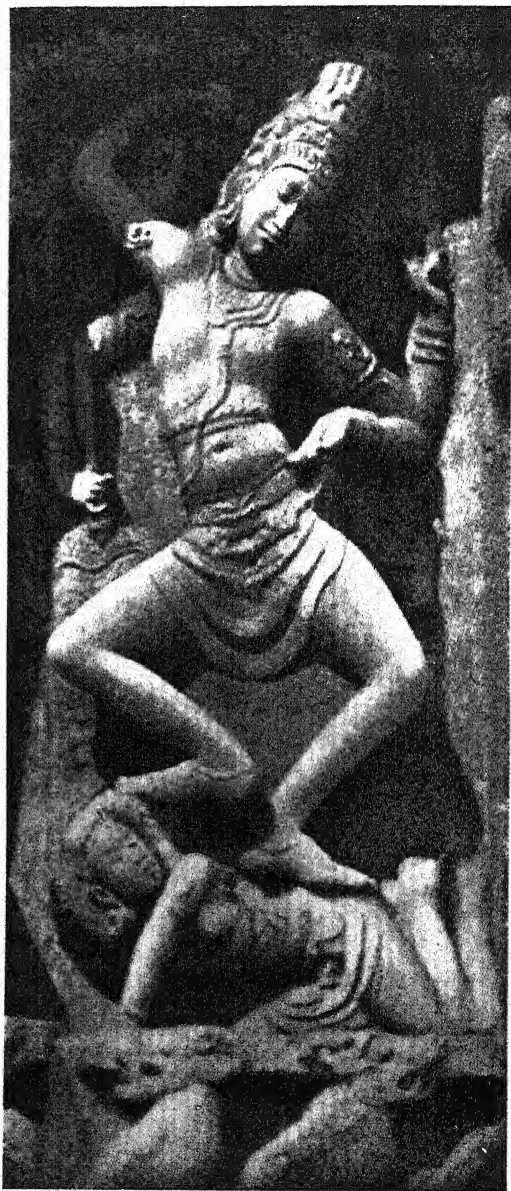
Victoria and Albert Museum.



II. SIVA: gneissic rock. Arjuna's Ratha, Mahābali-
puram, Madras. Mid-seventh century A.D.



III. SIVA TRIPURANTAKA : bronze. Tanjore District,
Madras. Ninth Century A.D.
Collection of Gautam Sarabhai, Ahmadabad.



IV. SIVA KALARIMURTI : gneissic rock. Mūvarkovil Temple,
Kolattūr Taluk, Pudukkottāi State.
Early Tenth Century A.D.

Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 11

South Indian Figure Sculpture, 7th to 10th century A.D.

By JOHN IRWIN

PLATES II—V)

THERE is an aspect of the development of South Indian figure sculpture between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D. that has received little attention, namely the stylistic relation of bronzework to stone sculpture, and in particular the reciprocal influences of the two different techniques, modelling and carving, on the formation of a single characteristic Cola style in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Hitherto, any study of the relation of bronze to stone figures has been concerned not with fundamental relations of style but with secondary points of detail, such as drapery, ornament, and iconography, for the light they throw on problems of dating. Moreover, as far as I am aware, no study has yet been made of the influence of *bronzework on stone sculpture*, the usual inference being that the influences were all the other way.

In rock-cut figures at the seventh-century (Māmallā period) shrines at Mahābalipuram (Pl. III) and Trichinopoly, we find a style essentially monumental and lithic, distinct from the tactual and naturalistic style usually associated with modelling. The formal qualities of the sculpture are inspired by the nature of the rock itself and the play of light upon it. At the same time we notice that in relation to each other the figures are ultimately conceived as independent units, each with the detachment of an icon (the unity of several figures in a composition being achieved by the use of an ideal vertical plane and by consciously theatrical action); and the wish to have such images reproduced in a portable medium such as bronze, however incongruous from a purely sculptural point of view, must have been latent in the worshipper from the beginning. It is not surprising, therefore, that the earliest Pallava bronzes should appear as imitations in bronze of essentially lithic forms.

Pallava bronzes are extremely rare, but unique among those that can be ascribed with certainty to the Pallava period is the mutilated image of Śiva (Pl. II) which was dredged up in the Kistna

delta and acquired by the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1914. Oddly enough this image, which may be assigned provisionally to the second half of the seventh century, has so far escaped the attention of those writing about the origin of South Indian bronzes. The style clearly indicates that at this stage the bronzeworker was content to copy lithic forms and had not yet understood the possibilities of his new medium. The bronze at Pl. IV, however, shows an important advance. Here is a masterpiece which stands in its own right as a *modelled* image. Its stylistic resemblance to the rock-cut Pallava figure (Pl. III) is of secondary significance to the emergence of entirely new qualities appropriate to the new technique. It is as though the limbs of the stone figure have changed their substance: the symbol has been transformed into a thing of flesh and blood. The bronze figure is conceived as a shape in sharply defined cubic space, unlike the rock-cut figure which is conceived in organic relation to its matrix, the rock. Whereas texture was all-important to the rock-sculptor, here texture plays no part and the emphasis is on poise and dramatic tension. Every detail is studied and treated with a view to cumulative effect. The tassels and median loop of the sash, which in the stone figure receive only formal treatment, are here invested with a tension and grace of their own and contribute to the total effect. The wavy line of the sacred chord (*yajñōpavīta*) carries the movement upwards and helps to offset the poise of head and hand.

The skill involved in the making of this piece suggests that bronze-casting had by this time (about the second half of the ninth century) become a highly specialised craft, which could have flourished only with a regular and widespread demand for such images. It is not surprising, therefore, to find conventional features of bronzework now being assimilated in stone sculptures. This influence can be traced, for instance, in the ninth-century wall-carvings of the Tiruttani temple¹ near Arkonam and the Mātangēśvara and Tripurāntakēśvara² temples at Kāñchīpuram. It is not until the tenth century, however, that reciprocal influences between the two styles result in a synthesis, represented by such

¹ A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, part iii, A.S.I. Memoirs, No. 40, 1930, Plate XI.

² A. Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, A.S.I. New Imperial Series, vol. xxxiv, 1909, Plates XCVI and CXIV.

masterpieces of sculpture as that illustrated in Pl. V, at the Mūvarkovil temple¹ in Koḷattūr Taluk, Pudukkoṭṭai State. Here, the stone-sculptor has not simply copied certain features of bronze-work: there is a difference in the quality of vision. The bronze figure at Pl. IV not only helps us to understand that difference but shows itself as a definite link in the development from a Pallava style at Pl. III to the Coḷa style at Pl. V, introducing a new element of humanism which perhaps finds a parallel in the contemporary poetry of Māṇikka-Vācaḡar, Sundaramūrti, and the other popular Saiva saints.

In a subsequent article I hope to develop this theme in application to the later Coḷa style, with special reference to the eleventh century Coḷa sculpture and its relation to contemporary bronze-work.

Finally, lest my evidence be regarded as too narrowly selected, I conclude with a few references to Plates published elsewhere and easily accessible which might serve as substitutes for the present selection.

PLATE III

Alternatives: S. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, 1933, pl. xxvii; A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, part ii, A.S.I. Memoirs, No. 33, 1928, pl. ix, xvi (c), xxx, and xxxi(a). Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, fig. 158.

PLATE IV

Alternatives: F. H. Gravely and C. Sivaramurti, *Illustrations of Indian Sculpture: Madras Government Museum*, 1939, pl. xxx and xxxii.

PLATE V

Alternatives: F. H. Gravely and C. Sivaramurti, op. cit., pl. xxxvi and xxxvii; Vincent Smith, op. cit., figs. 159, 160, 161, and 162.

¹ Venkataranga Raju, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. v, 1937, pp. 78-90.

Pottery and Glass Fragments from the Aden Littoral, with Historical Notes

By ARTHUR LANE and R. B. SERJEANT

PART I: HISTORICAL NOTES

The Sites

THE pottery and glass fragments examined here were collected in 1941 from three sites on the Aden littoral. They were picked up on the surface at (1) Kawd am-Saila, the "Dune of the Flood-Course", a large isolated mound situated on the main Aden-Lahej-Yemen road, (2) Al-Ḥabil, lying north-west of Lahej, just a little off the main Yemen route, and (3) Zingibar. The last-named site lies within the Abyan oasis on the coastal plain, some 35 miles north-east of Aden. For an area of some miles there, extending almost to the foothills, the surface is covered with potsherds of all kinds and periods, both glazed and unglazed. In places the ground is quite red with fragments of unglazed earthenware. Abyan is a site of great antiquity well known to Arab authors, and in pre-Islamic inscriptions, but the other two places have not yet been identified.

All three sites have markedly similar features; they lie on alluvial soil near sandy steppe, and they were undoubtedly the site of towns constructed in clay-brick. A flood in 1941 had revealed a small portion of clay-brick wall at Ḥabil. All the sites showed traces of glass-workings, and large lumps of glass frit lay about everywhere. Kawd am-Saila, the large, probably partially natural mound of the Aden plain, is surrounded by kiln sites which cover a not inconsiderable extent of ground, and good burnt brick kilns are visible here and there.¹ At Ḥabil a Mameluke copper coin, apparently belonging to an already known series, was found on the surface.

The site richest in Chinese material is the Abyan area; Abyan

¹ It may be possible to identify Kawd am-Saila with the aid of the itineraries of Abū Maḥrāma. Révoil as early as 1833 describes a site "aux alentours" of Shaiḥ 'Uṭhman where he found material similar to that of the three above-mentioned places; but as he gives no more precise indication, it may be Kawd am-Saila that he means. One would, however, expect the mounds of Shaiḥ 'Uṭhman to contain material of the same type.

was once perhaps a port, certainly an important caravan mart, and a great administrative centre in medieval times. Though much smaller than Abyan, Kawd am-Saila surface finds contained a higher proportion of Far Eastern fragments. Hābil, on the other hand, probably only a poor glass-manufacturing village, shows a small proportion of Chinese to local material. In the tribal country of the Aden Protectorate to the west of Aden there seem to be no sites of this kind, but 'Awlaḳis informed us that in their country similar sites exist. We can confidently expect to find many other sites corresponding to these three in the Yemen.

Another marked feature in the surface finds consists of various classes of glassware in great profusion. There are glass bangles of the type found on many Near Eastern sites, to say nothing of the Yemen,¹ and even the Aden golf-course,² as well as glass bottles and moulded wares. At Abyan at least Islamic and pre-Islamic fragments lie intermingled on the surface, and occasional pieces of cheap Far Eastern wares or European glass of the present day occur here and there.

The Import of Chinese Porcelain to Islamic Countries—A Chronological Series of Literary Sources

The period during which the first imports of Chinese pottery began to enter the Islamic world cannot yet be precisely determined. That the sea-routes from the Far East to the Mediterranean by way of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, were in use before Islam is known, even though commerce may have been interrupted or diverted from time to time by fear of exactions or by piracy. The object of commerce most prized, however, so frequently mentioned by writers, is Chinese silk; the significant question is when did Chinese porcelain also begin to come through to the Near East in the holds of the China trading-vessels. Balādhurī and Dinawarī speak of Ubulla as a port of China at the time of its capture by the Arabs. According to Ṭabarī,³ Manṣūr was told that by founding

¹ See C. Rathjens and H. v. Wissmann, *Vorislamische Altertümer in Südarabien-Reise II* (Hamburg, 1932), p. 155, phot. 103.

² Major Freeman of the Aden Levies found a bracelet fragment of this sort there in 1941.

³ Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879-1901), iii, 275. Cf. Yaḳūt *Mu'djam al-Buldān* (Leipzig, 1866-73), i, 678.

his capital at Baghdad (A.D. 765) among other advantages "supplies will come to you in ships from India and China". No certain reliance can be placed upon either of these statements, but a more trustworthy authority tells of an Arab merchant in China as early as before H. 140 (A.D. 758).¹

The writers are indebted to Muḥtaba Minovi for a new and invaluable reference to the appearance of china-ware in the Islamic world, anterior to the finds at Samarra (H. 221 (A.D. 836)–H. 279 (A.D. 892)).² It is stated by Baihaḳī³ that in a present sent by 'Alī ibn 'Īsā from Khurāsān to Hārūn al-Rashīd at Baghdad, there were twenty pieces of Imperial China-ware (Chīnī Faḡhfūrī) consisting of bowls (ṣaḥn), cups (kāsa), half-cups (nīm-kāsa), no one of which had been seen at the court of any king. Two thousand other pieces are mentioned, mostly bowls and cups, without comment, so it would seem that Chinese pottery was already familiar in Baghdad in fairly large quantities during Rashīd's reign (H. 170 (A.D. 786)–H. 193 (A.D. 806)), though not the Imperial ware. It is, however, important to remark that this present came overland, not by the sea-route; obviously china-ware in large quantities would be easier and safer to convey by sea rather than by land. Djāḥiẓ who died in H. 257 (A.D. 869) at the age of ninety, mentions in a treatise on articles of trade, that from China comes pottery (ghadā'ir).⁴

Tanūkhī⁵ speaks of more than thirty china jars (ḥubb Sīnī) full of the scent known as ghāliya, the best of which was made in the reign of the Caliph al-Wāthiḳ (H. 227 (A.D. 842)–H. 232 (A.D. 847)). One of the jars was so large that it had to be carried by a number of slaves with poles and a frame, and it had a very wide neck. In the reign of Mutawakkil (A.D. 846–861), a certain poet had some pieces of china smashed by a ram which he was fattening for the 'Id al-Aḍḥā. These included a lamp (sirāḍī), which he laments in

¹ Quoted in T. Lewicki, "Les premiers commerçants arabes en Chine," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Lwów, 1935), xi, pp. 73–168.

² A few Chinese weavers, jewellers, and painters were to be found in Baghdad quite early. See Paul Pelliot, "Des Artisans Chinois à la Capitale Abbasside en 751–762," *T'oung Pao* (Leyden, 1929), xxvi, pp. 110–112.

³ Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusain (Abu 'l-Faḍl) Baihaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Baihaḳī* (Persian text, Teheran, 1307), p. 425.

⁴ Djāḥiẓ, *Al-Tabassur bi l-Tidjāra*, "Revue de l'Acad. Arab. de Damas," xii (1932).

⁵ Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, *Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1921), text, p. 141, trans., p. 154.

a poem,¹ calling it "a bowl from China (*ṣīnīyat al-Ṣīn*) at the time when the painter of talent (*muṣawwir*) devised it with pictures (*taṣāwīr*)."

Another interesting piece of pottery is described by Buzurg ibn Shahriyār,² in that pleasant collection of travel stories entitled *The Wonders of India*. He gives an account of a certain Jewish merchant who left for the Far East about the year H. 270 (A.D. 883-4) with a very small capital, and returned to the city of 'Umān (probably Ṣuḥār is intended) in H. 300 (A.D. 912-3), with a million dinars, Chinese silk, and a large quantity of China-ware (*Ṣīnī*). He presented the governor of 'Umān with a "black vase of porcelain, the top of which shone with gold (*barnīyat Ṣīnī sawdā' muḍī'at al-Ra's bi 'l-dhahab*)". This piece, which came from China itself, contained a present of gold fishes. It is interesting to note that after he was arrested by the orders of the Caliph al-Muḩtadir and detained, the story caused merchants to stop putting in at 'Umān town and the ports of Iraq. Maḩdisī³ (*circa* H. 375 (A.D. 985)), quotes pottery (*ghaḩḩār*) as one of the imports of 'Umān, though this probably includes Persian wares.

These early references must suffice to indicate the early date at which china-ware was imported into Mesopotamia, and the continuity of those imports.

Imports of China-ware to South-Western Arabia

The merchant Sulaimān³ says, "Les marchandises (de la Chine n'arrivent qu') en petite quantité (à Basra et à Baghdad). L'importation de ces marchandises est peu importante (en pays arabe), à cause des fréquents incendies qui éclatent à *Khānfū* (Canton). Parmi les causes (de la rareté des marchandises chinoises en pays

¹ Abu 'l-Faraḩj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* (Cairo, H. 1284), xiii, 27. Ref. from the late Rhuvon Guest. Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836-1840), i, 194, calls the capital of China, *Ṣīniyat al-Ṣīn*. The term *ṣīniya* early came to mean simply a bowl. See Ibn Abī Uṣaibī'a, *Uyūn al-Anbā fi Ṭabaḩāt al-Aṭibbā*, ed. A. Müller (Cairo, 1882), i, 202, where a *ṣīniya* of gold was placed before al-Muwaffaḩ (A.D. 870-892).

² See text and trans. in P. A. Van der Lith and L. Marcel Devic, *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde* (Leyden, 1883-6), pp. 107 ff. T. Bent, *Southern Arabia* (London, 1900), mentions celadon at Bahrain.

³ Maḩdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici* (Leyden, 1906), p. 97.

⁴ See Gabriel Ferrand, *Voyage du Marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine rédigé en 851 suivi de remarques par Abū Zayd Hasan* (Paris, 1922), pp. 37-8.

arabes) il faut également mentionner les naufrages des navires... les pillages... et les longs séjours... ce qui oblige à vendre leur marchandises avant d'arriver à destination en pays arabe. Parfois le vent chasse les navires jusqu' au Yémen ou dans d'autres pays où sont alors vendues les marchandises." Sulaimān makes mention also of cups and bowls as thin as glass, and so transparent that you can see the colour of the liquids they contain through them, manufactured by the Chinese.¹ It must, however, be remarked that the contents of Sulaimān's book, believed to be written in A.D. 851, and annotated in 916, seem to be of questionable reliability. It seems unlikely, for instance, that the outbreaks of fire in Canton could affect the porcelain trade. The shipping that was driven by weather over to the Yemen coast cannot, of course, have been the only shipping that reached that part of the Islamic domains.

Ishāk ibn al-Ḥusain,² writing about H. 340 (A.D. 950), states of Aden, "There, wonderful vases (*āniya*) are made." Interpreting the passage in the light of the Islamic pottery found on the surface, it seems improbable that he could be referring to local manufactures, but that he must have had the imported Chinese wares in mind.

ʿUmāra al-Ḥakamī states,³ "I have seen a statement of the revenues of Ibn Ziyād in H. 366 (A.D. 976-7), and notwithstanding the reductions they had undergone, they amounted to a million of *ʿAththar* dinars. This did not include various duties he levied upon ships from India, nor contributions of musk, camphor, ambergris, sandalwood, and china (*Ṣīnī*)." Apparently, as indeed other writers confirm, it was customary to take part of the dues on cargoes in kind. The ports specifically mentioned as coming under Ibn Ziyād's control are Aden, *Shihr*, *Mirbāt*, and *Abyan*, and the maritime provinces of the Red Sea coast as far as *Ḥalī*. *Abyan* could scarcely be used as a port for ships of any size nowadays. It might be noted that musk came from China in jars.⁴ Only some ten years later, *Maḳḍisī*,⁵ excuses himself from listing the imports of Aden as too many to be enumerated, but which include the merchandise of China (*tiḍjārat al-Ṣīn*) for which it is proverbial.

¹ Ibid., p. 54.

² Ishāk ibn al-Ḥusain "Ikām al-Mardjān fī dhikr al-Madā'in al-Mashhūra fī kull Makān," ed. and trans. by A. Codazzi, *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* (Roma, 1929), vi. v.

³ H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early medieval history* (London, 1892), p. 8.

⁴ *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, op. cit., p. 110.

⁵ *Maḳḍisī*, op. cit., p. 97. His evidence is valuable as he actually visited Aden.

In the year H. 546 or 547 (A.D. 1151-3), a governor of Aden left, amongst other effects, "beautiful objects from China."¹

Writing before A.D. 1154, Idrīsī says that at one time merchants came from all parts to Ṣuḥār ('Umān) to import products of the Yemen. From Ṣuḥār expeditions were made to China, but this had ceased in Idrīsī's time. A certain governor of the Yemen had seized Kīsh opposite Muscat. "Il la fortifia, la peupla et y équipa une flotte à l'aide de laquelle il se rendit maître du littoral de l'Yemen. Cet homme occasiona beaucoup de dommages aux marchands, dépouilla chacun de son bien, et affaiblit le pays tellement que le commerce se détourna de la voie d'Oman et se reporta vers Aden... Cet homme continue actuellement encore ses expéditions déprédatrices."² Yet again, Idrīsī³ cites Aden as the point of departure for ships destined for Sind, India, and China. He gives a list of imports from China, including "la vaiselle de terre". At Zabīd in the Lower Yemen various Indian spices are exported and Chinese wares⁴; we should therefore expect to find fragments of Chinese pottery about Zabīd.

Medieval References to Chinese Porcelain in South Arabia

In the histories of the Mamelukes of Egypt a Jewish family of bankers and merchants, known as the Kārimī house, is frequently mentioned. A member of this family, a cloth merchant, is noticed by the Yemenite author Abū Makḥrama at Aden, his date of birth being A.D. 1149, but it is a later member of this same family who became a great merchant in the China trade. He lived in the time of the Mameluke al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and was known as 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maṣṣūr al-Kūlamī (of Quilon (?)⁵ al-Kārimī. He migrated from Aleppo where he was born, to Baghdad, and "crossed to India and the island of Kīsh and Hurmuz, and reached

¹ 'Umāra, H. C. Kay, op. cit., p. 80.

² Idrīsī, op. cit., i, 152.

³ Ibid., i, 51.

⁴ Ibid., i, 49-50. Idrīsī must be used with caution in Jaubert's translation which is unreliable and full of errors. Idrīsī actually mentions a number of cities in China where porcelain was manufactured, but I have not succeeded in identifying them, and the names are suspect in Jaubert's citation. The Polish orientalist, T. Levinsky, is, however, preparing a new text from which it might be possible to identify these cities. See Idrīsī (Jaubert), i, 84, 193-4.

⁵ Quilon was a centre for the manufacture of a local porcelain inferior to that of the genuine Chinese type.

China which he entered and left five times . . . Then he returned from India to Aden, and the Lord of the Yemen took a percentage (*djumlā*) of his money, of the Chinese objets de vertu, and china-ware (*Ṣīnī*) which he brought with him, going beyond the established limits with him. Then he reached Egypt in H. 704 (A.D. 1304-5)."¹ It might be remarked here² that a wealthy Mameluke Qadi in the year H. 738 (A.D. 1337-8), selling off his effects in Cairo, realized no less than 40,000 dirhams (perhaps some two or three thousand pounds) for various kinds of China vases (*al-Awānī al-Ṣīnī*).

To return to our Kārimī merchant, however, another version of the same incident is given by al-Khazraǧī.³ "This year (H. 703 (A.D. 1303-4)), a merchant arrived from the land of Khaṭā (Cathay) on the road to China (*Ṣīn*), called 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maṣṣūr the Aleppan, with property of great importance. He had with him 300 buhārs of silk (*harīr*), a single buhār being equivalent to 300 Baghdad raṭls (lbs.), 450 raṭls of musk run into vessels of lead, an enormous quantity of Chinese pottery (*al-fakhkhār al-Ṣīnī*), and a splendid collection of vessels of jade (reading *al-awānī al-yashm*), inlaid (*muṭ'am*) with gold, consisting of large plates (*ṣaḥn*)."⁴ Dues paid on these goods came to 300,000 dirhams.

Under the annals for the year A.D. 1305, the same author⁴ mentions "pottery of china, and jade (*fakhkhār al-Ṣīnī wa 'l-Yashm*) of high quality, consisting of plates (*ṣaḥn*), cups (*zubḍīya*, according to Dozy, originally couleur de crème . . . une vase faite de cette sorte de porcelaine, . . . tasse, écuelle, assiette, plat), the beauty which it is impossible adequately to describe." The notice also mentions Chinese gold-embroidered garments, platters (*aṭbāk*), jars (*awānī*), and boxes of musk.

Again, under the annals for the year A.D. 1392,⁵ it is mentioned that the Sultan has "vessels of porcelain (*āniyat al-Ṣīnī*), and of jade (*yashm*), Kāshānī, and pottery (*fakhkhār*), consisting of plates

¹ Muṣṭafā Djawād. "Tidjārat al-'Irāk fi 'Uṣūr al-Ḥukm al-Mughūlī," *Madjallat Ghurfat Tidjārat Baǧhdād*, 1944, vii, pts. i, ii, iii, p. 65, based on Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*.

² Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. M. M. Ziyāda (Cairo, 1942), ii, ii, p. 442.

³ El-Khazreǧī's *History of the Resūlī Dynasty of Yemen*, text ed. by Muhammad 'Asal (London, 1913-18), iv, 350.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, 361.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, 233.

(*ṣaḥn*), cups (*zubbīya*), jars (*ḍjīrār*), jars,¹ white jugs (*kūz*), cups of chalk-colour (? *ṭabāshīr*),² glass-bottles (reading *ḥawārīr* for *ḥarārīb*), and ablution-pots (*maṭāhir*).” At the same date the Sultan had brought out,³ “500 plates (*ṣaḥn*) of porcelain (*Ṣīnī*) never previously used, apart from that which had been previously used.” There was also Zabīd pottery (*fakḥkhār*), evidently a local ware.

One is tempted to suggest, although without adequate justification, that jade (*yashm*) in the passages cited, might refer to celadon pottery rather than to stone vessels of jade. Quatremère⁴ actually derives *yashm* from the Chinese *yuh-shih* (jade), but Dr. W. B. Henning, in a learned communication, informs us that the word exists in various forms in Akkadian, Biblical Hebrew, Greek (*ἰάσμις*), and Soghdian, etc. It will be recalled that the Chinese themselves compared certain types of pottery with jade.⁵

One Arabic author, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,⁶ even tells us whence some of this medieval china came, for he says, “Sīn-kalān (Canton) is a city of the first rank, in regard to size and the quality of its bazaars. One of the largest of these is the porcelain bazaar, from which porcelain is exported to all parts of China, to India, and to the Yemen.” In view of the existence of provincial wares amongst the fragments examined here, it should be noted that Arabic authors from Ibn Khurdādhbih to Ibn Iyās (fifteenth century), mention Lūkīn (*Lung-pien*) near Hanoi, as a centre for the manufacture and export of Chinese porcelain. Moreover, some pieces of porcelain now in Constantinople, but believed to have been brought from the Yemen, seem to have been manufactured in Annam.⁷ Yākūt gives as the exports of Java (*Djāwa*), “aloes, camphor, Chinese simples, and China-ware (*al-ghadā’ir al-Ṣīnī*).”⁸ It seems likely that

¹ Reading *adwāḥ* for *adwāḍj*. For *dawḥ*, see C. v. Landberg, “*Études sur les Dialectes de l’Arabie Méridionale*, i. Ḥaḍramūt (Leiden, 1901), p. 576, meaning “cuve, jarre”.

² According to Dozy, this term “semble désigner la matière dont on fait certaines coupes”.

³ Khazradjī, op. cit., iv, 233.

⁴ Cf. M. Quatremère, *Notice de l’ouvrage persan qui a pour titre Maṭla-assaadīn* . . . Not. et Ext. (Paris, 1843), xiv, 476, with a long note on *yashm*, citing many sources.

⁵ W. B. Honey, *Ceramic Art of China* (London, 1945), p. 39.

⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, H. A. R. Gibb, Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 1325-1354 (London, 1929). Cf. text of Defremery and Sanguinetti, iv, 272.

⁷ W. B. Honey, op. cit., p. 165.

⁸ Yākūt, op. cit., iii, 444.

reference is made in this case to a type of porcelain made in Java.¹

African Sites similar to the Arabian Sites

As much of the territory adjacent to South-western Arabia is unexplored, or from an archæological standpoint virtually unexplored, we do not possess even an incomplete list of the many sites there must be which resemble those under discussion.

From Chinese records it seems that there is little doubt but that Chinese mariners visited the East African coast before Islam. According to Schwarz² too, "The whole coast from Kishmayu to Zanzibar is littered with Chinese pottery." Chau Ju-Kua³ in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, records that Malabar and the Ta-Shī (Arab and Persian) localities along the sea-coast send ships to Zanzibar with white cotton cloth, porcelain, copper, and red cotton. It seems likely that porcelain would begin to appear in East Africa about the same time as it began to arrive in Aden. Sung coins have been found in Madagascar.

In Mogadischio, Stuhlmann⁴ discovered celadon in association with Chinese coins (the latter mainly of the eleventh and twelfth, but also of the thirteenth century A.D.), vitreous paste, and Arabic coins. In British Somaliland, A. T. Curle⁵ reports sites closely parallel to those on the Arabian shore. They contain celadon of the Sung and Ming dynasties from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries,

¹ The great lexicographer al-Firūzābādī, who settled in the Yemen towards the end of the eighth century of the Hidjra, quotes in his dictionary, an account of the manufacture of porcelain resembling that of Marco Polo and some known Arabic sources, but with certain differences. From China come "the Chinese vessels made there from the earth (*turāb*) of the mountains there, vomited up by the fire, like (char)-coal. To this they add stones (*hidjāra*) of theirs, over which they light fire for three days. They then pour water on them so that it becomes like earth (*turāb*). They fire it for some days, the best being that which is fired for (the period of) a month, or else that which is fired for fifteen to ten days, but not less than that. Some is exported to all countries." *Tādj al-'Arūs* (Bulāq, H. 1307-8), ix, 262.

² E. H. D. Schwarz, "The Chinese Connection with Africa," *J. Roy. As. Soc. Bengal* (Calcutta, 1938), iv, ii, p. 175 ff.

³ F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chu-fan-chih, on the Arab and Chinese Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (St. Petersburg, 1911), p. 126.

⁴ See F. Hirth, "Early Chinese Notices of East African Territories," *Jl. American Oriental Soc.* (New York, 1909).

⁵ A. T. Curle, "The Ruined Towns of Somaliland," *Antiquity* (London, Sept., 1937), pp. 315-327, with map. Some of Curle's material is in the Dept. of Ethnology at the British Museum.

and blue and white ware of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are numerous fragments of pottery and glass, including glass bangles which seem to be a characteristic export of Southern Arabia. One of these sites is at Zaila, a port well known to Arab medieval geographers, another lies a hundred miles to the south, and another within the Abyssinian border, some 200 miles south of Zaila.¹

Hobson² has examined Chinese fragments from 'Aidhāb near old Suakin on the Sudan's Red Sea coast. According to Maḳrīzī³ 'Aidhāb was abandoned in A.D. 1358, for Aden and Jedda, which became large ports, but no doubt, traffic still reached the port until its destruction in A.D. 1426 by the Mameluke al-Ashraf Barsbai.

A Chinese Thirteenth Century "Export Drive" ?

Like the Romans, who were apprehensive of the constant drain of coin and the precious metals eastwards in payment for Far Eastern luxuries such as silk and spices, the Chinese government of the thirteenth century had considerable misgivings about the export of coin from China. Kuwabara⁴ informs us that in A.D. 1219, "silks, brocade, porcelain, and lacquered wares were made to pay for foreign goods instead of coins," by the Government of the day. It may possibly be from this period that Chinese ceramic wares became even more plentiful in the Near East, though there is abundant evidence of a large import of china before this time.

Arab Glass in the Far East

Near-Eastern glass, it is known, was carried to the Far East in or before the eighth century A.D., for several pieces of it are preserved

¹ See also G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture* (Oxford, 1931), index for imports of Arab glass, some Persian pottery, Chinese celadon and porcelain into East Africa. The Chinese wares belong mostly to the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, but pl. xlv shows a Ming bowl as late as *circa* A.D. 1700. Miss Caton-Thompson was kind enough to put photographs at our disposal of a Chinese ginger-jar, probably Ming, which she purchased in Haḍramawt.

² R. L. Hobson, "Chinese Fragments from Aidhab..." *Trans. O.C.S.*, (London, 1926-7), p. 19-22.

³ As quoted in R. Weill, *La Presqu'île de Sinai* (Paris, 1908), p. 94.

⁴ Jitsuzo Kuwabara, *On P'u Shou-K'eng, a man of the Western Regions* . . . Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (Tokyo, 1928), p. 27.

in the Shōsō-in at Nara in Japan, where they were deposited about A.D. 750.¹

Hirth and Rockhill² quote a Chinese source written prior to A.D. 572, dealing with the period A.D. 385-556, which states that the following articles were either imported or made known by the Persians³ to the Chinese, "coral, amber, cornelians, pearls, glass both transparent and opaque," etc., all of which are products characteristic of the South Arabian coast.⁴ Describing the markets of the pre-Islamic Arabs, Kalkashandī⁵ says that in Ṣan'ā', capital of the Yemen, Arab merchants used to buy *khazar*, glass beads or trinkets being perhaps meant. These vague indications would suggest that glass may have been manufactured in Southern Arabia before Islam.

Writing in A.D. 1178, Ch'ou K'ü-fei⁶ says, "The products (of Ma-li-pa, the Ḥadramawt coast of Arabia according to the editors, but it probably included the whole of the southern coast and the port of Aden) are frankincense, ambergris, pearls, opaque glass, rhinoceros horns, ivory, coral, putchuk, myrrh, dragons-blood, asafoetida, liquid storax, oak-galls, and rosewater, to trade in all of which the countries of Ta-shī resort to this place." This passage seems to be fairly sound evidence of the manufacture of glass on the South Arabian coast, and though rose-water is not mentioned by the Arab geographers as an export of South Arabia, Tomé Pires speaks of rose-water of Ṣan'ā', and says that Aden exports rose-water.⁷

Chau Ju-Kua⁸ says, "Liu-li comes from several of the countries of the Ta-shī. The method followed in melting it is the same as that in China, that is to say, it is made by burning oxide of lead,

¹ Jirottarada, *English Catalogue of Treasures in the Imperial Repository Shōsōin* (Tokyo, 1930), published by the Imperial Household Museum, plates I, li, lii, showing Sasanian (?) glass.

² F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³ The Chinese did not very exactly distinguish between Persian and Arab traders, but knew both as "Persians".

⁴ At a period shortly after this the Persians actually conquered the Yemen, but they seem to have had a considerable political influence along the South Arabian coast for some centuries before Islam.

⁵ Kalkashandī, *Subh al-A'ṣhā* (Cairo, 1913), i, 411.

⁶ Quoted by Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁷ Armando Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (London, 1944), i, 18 and 43.

⁸ Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

nitrate of potash, and gypsum. To these materials the Ta-shī add southern borax which causes the glass to be elastic, so that one may put it in water for a long time without spoiling it. It is, therefore, more valuable than the Chinese product." In lists of Ta-shī ports, Chau Ju-Kua quotes Ma-lo-pa (*Mirbāt*), Shī-ho (*Shihr*), and Nu-fa (*Zufār*).¹

If, as seems likely, South Arabian glass was exported to Kirmān, where Stein found bracelets of the South Arabian type, then it would not be surprising to find it further afield, even in China. If we were to look for a reason for the cessation of glass manufacture on the Arabian coasts, it might be found in the Portuguese blockade of the Muslim world during the sixteenth century. It may have been the loss of the eastern markets and the heavy reduction in the volume of sea-traffic which brought gradual disaster on these glass-making towns and villages, and perhaps many others more than we know at present, as yet unreported.²

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentioned the Cantonese china exports to the Yemen; Marvazī³ at the opening of the twelfth century speaks of Canton's imports of glass from abroad, though he gives no places of origin.

Possibly, therefore, Southern Arabia balanced its imports of chinaware and other commodities from the Far East by its exports of glassware.

Venetian Glassware in the Orient

Indications that this group of sites on the Aden littoral was frequented till a fairly late period is evident from the presence of a few Venetian fragments at Kawd am-Saila. According to Tomé Pires, writing in A.D. 1512-15, the Venetian galleasses brought many

¹ Ibid., p. 121.

² A good study of the economic consequences of this blockade is to be found in G. W. F. Stripling's *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511-1574* (Illinois, 1942). A locality named al-Mizdjādjiya, "die Glashütte, Ort in der Nähe von Zabīd wo Glas fabricirt wird," is noted by F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Qufiten in Süd-Arabien* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 146. Zabīd also was known for its manufactures of pottery. Abū Maḥrāma, *Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan*, ed. O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter* (Uppsala, 1936), ii, 70, mentions a Ḥiṣn al-Qawārīr, "The Fortress of the Bottles" dating back to Aiyūbid times. Might this refer perhaps to a glass-manufacturing village? To-day, Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, *Djazīrat al-'Arab* (Cairo, 1935), mentions a place, Djazīrat Ḥassān, opposite Umludj on the Ḥidjāz coast, "from the sand of which glass is made."

³ V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India* (London, 1942), pp. 22 and 27.

articles of European manufacture to Cairo, including "glass and other beads, and golden glass-ware." These were taken by traders to the Far East, and Pires¹ describes the dispersal of Venetian wares, including "glass of all kinds and colours":—

"The merchandise which these people (the Egyptians ?) take to India comes from Venice in Italy. It comes to Alexandria, and from the Alexandrine ware-houses it comes by river to the factors in Cairo, and from Cairo it comes in caravans with many armed people. It comes to Tor but this is not often, because on account of the nomad robbers they need many armed people to guard the merchandise. But at the time of the Jubilee (the Muslim pilgrimage) which is held every year in Mecca on the first day of February, when many people come, (the merchandise) is sent to Mecca with them. And from there it comes to Jidda and from Jidda it comes to the warehouses they have in Aden and from Aden it is distributed to Cambay, Goa, Malabar, Bengal, Pegu, and Siam."

Herein may lie an additional reason for the decline of glass-manufacturing on the South Arabian coast, except perhaps the coarser sorts, the competition of European glassware in the markets, once the monopoly of Arab enterprise. Until, however, these sites are examined in detail, all suggestions of this nature must be in the nature of speculation.

PART II. THE POTTERY AND GLASS FROM KAWD AM-SAILA, ABYAN, AND HABIL

At all three sites, Habil, Kawd am-Saila, and Abyan, the fragments of pottery and glass cover a remarkably long period. Types represented are in many cases well known from medieval sites elsewhere; some of them are quite obviously importations; and there is no positive evidence to suggest that the region developed any local manufacture of outstanding quality or character. The probabilities are in favour of local manufacture for the coarse unglazed pottery and the rougher kinds of glazed ware, and the presence at Kawd am-Saila of coarse lumps of greenish glass frit indicate that glass was certainly made there; not necessarily glass of high quality for export, but more likely useful glass for local consumption. In the Abbasid period local glasshouses existed

¹ Tomé Pires, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, 12-13, cf. p. 43.

almost everywhere, and the simpler styles were everywhere the same. There were, however, at Kawd am-Saila a few small shapeless pieces of opaque coloured glass, and a few short straight strips of variously coloured glass fused together. These could not have been beads, for they are unpierced; no obvious use can be suggested for them; and it is therefore possible that they represent debris from a glasshouse manufacturing the coloured glass bangles found in such quantity on the site.

It will be convenient to list the finds according to type. First the pottery, under three main headings: Pre-Islamic, Islamic, and Far Eastern imports. Then the glass.

Pottery

I. Pre-Islamic.

Several glazed fragments of the so-called "Parthian" pottery which may have been made at any time between the first and eighth century A.D. This class of ware, still current in the Sasanian period, seems to have gone out of use soon after the expansion of Islam. It has a coarse, greyish-yellow body, with thick walls, and a very thick and glassy blue-green alkaline glaze. The shapes were often of late classical derivation; a fragment from Ḥabil is apparently the handle, triangular in section, of an amphora. Some pieces had decoration of bosses in relief. The "Parthian" glazed ware seems to have been made above all in Mesopotamia and Syria; it becomes increasingly rare as one goes eastwards into Iran. The fragments from Ḥabil and Abyan were certainly imported.¹

II. Islamic.

(a) *Unglazed Ware.*—Mostly of reddish clay, sometimes whitish on the surface, decorated with various scratched or simple carved designs. Presumably local, and impossible to date. Unglazed pottery with incised or moulded designs of the fine quality found on the ninth-century site of Samarra is absent. (Ḥabil, Kawd am-Saila.)

(b) Red earthenware, painted in *radiating wedges of contrasting colour*, white, green, and purple. The colours are each embodied

¹ For "Parthian" and Sasanian green-glazed pottery, see especially the chapter by R. Ettinghausen in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope (1938), vol. ii. Sir Aurel Stein, in *Archæological reconnaissances in North-western and South-eastern Iran*, 1937, plates xxi and xxvii, illustrates green-glazed fragments with relief-decoration like that here discussed. But some of his pieces, though green, are apparently lead-glazed and irrelevant for comparison here.

in a lead-glaze to which tin oxide has been added, making it opaque. Similar ware is found in the Faiyūm (Egypt), but it is not impossible that these pieces from Ḥābil were of local make. Date, perhaps tenth to eleventh century.

(c) Red earthenware, with lead glaze *mottled in green and brown*, probably in imitation of Chinese T'ang export ware. This type, which often has in addition to the mottling "*sgraffiato*" designs incised through a white slip, was almost universally made in the Islamic countries, from the ninth century onwards. The single piece from Ḥābil suggests that the technique had not been adopted by local potteries of the ninth to tenth centuries, when this form of *sgraffiato* ware was most popular.

(d) Fine red earthenware with *sgraffiato* designs incised or carved through a good white slip, covered with transparent lead glaze streaked green and brown. This is a later development of *sgraffiato* ware, widespread throughout the Near East. The fragments are too small to give much sense of style; but they might belong to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

(e) Red or buff earthenware, covered with a lead glaze containing tin oxide to give varying degrees of opacity, and *stained in various shades of dull green*. Shapes mostly dishes or shallow bowls with a flattened rim and strong foot-ring, unglazed on the reverse. Obviously imitations, perhaps local, of Chinese "celadon" ware, which reached the Near East in greatest quantity between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, but was well known earlier. Actual Chinese celadon ware was found with the imitations at all three sites.

(f) Reddish earthenware thinly smeared with a *greenish yellow opaque glaze*, and crudely painted over the glaze in *purple* with designs of boxed triangles, running S-pattern, etc. Date uncertain; possibly later than fifteenth century, might be comparatively modern.

(g) Coarse red earthenware with small spots, triangles, etc. painted in *white slip* under a deep *blue-green lead-glaze*. Found only at Kawd am-Saila. Perhaps related to class (e) above.

(h) Red earthenware with a thin white *tin-glaze*, *painted in blue* (and green occasionally as well) with bands, zigzags, and radiating lines. Use of blue perhaps inspired by Chinese porcelain of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries.

(i) Ware with similar painting, but made of a hard, whitish clay. Type of glaze indeterminate. Somewhat resembles in technical

character the so-called "Athlit" ware of the thirteenth century, found on Crusader sites in Syria, Palestine, and Greece, but is probably not connected with that ware. Found only at Kawd am-Saila.

(j) Fine buff earthenware with white tin glaze, *painted in lustre*. Two fragments were found at Ḥabil. On one the colours are yellow and brown, as found at Samarra; this piece must date from the mid-ninth century. The other piece is painted in monochrome greenish-yellow lustre, and must date from the tenth century. Both imports from Mesopotamia. Of the same origin was a small fragment from the rim of a plain white lobed bowl.¹

(k) Wares with a whitish body of composite paste. This is the standard material for pottery of fine quality, in Persia, Syria, and Egypt, from the twelfth century onwards.

In some Egyptian pieces the paste composition is loose-knit and coarse in comparison with that used in Persia. Otherwise it is difficult to distinguish between Persian and Egyptian when the fragments are so small as were the very few from Ḥabil. Some of these had dark blue glaze, one with turquoise glaze had an incised design under it. Late twelfth to thirteenth centuries.

III. *Far Eastern Imports.*

The accurate dating of early medieval Chinese wares is still hardly possible. In fact the best evidence comes from a site outside China itself—Samarra on the Tigris, occupied only between A.D. 836–892. Several kinds of Chinese porcelain and stoneware were found there. Many of the same types have also been found at Fustāt in Egypt. It is clear that from the ninth century A.D. onwards the Chinese habitually exported porcelain and stoneware to the Near East. Some certainly came overland through Persia, but the literary evidence, supported by the actual finds on sites such as these near Aden, indicates that much came by sea round India, and was conveyed onwards either up the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea.

There is no guarantee that Chinese wares of the types found at Samarra are to be dated within the same precise limits when they are found on other Islamic sites—for example, at Fustāt. Some kinds of Chinese ceramics were made with little variation in technique or decoration for generations, even centuries. This is particularly true of the wares made for export. Here there was no

¹ See F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, pp. 39, 40, and p. 67, I.N. 515 and a.

close contact between the potters and clients of informed taste, such as operated under the later Sung and Ming dynasties, when the Emperors set up factories to make wares for their own delectation. The attention of students of Chinese ceramics has been mainly concentrated on these finer wares. But "provincial" potteries certainly existed all over China, and some of these may have contributed to the export trade. Difficulties consequently arise when we have to relate specimens from a non-Chinese site to the fine connoisseurs' pieces on which knowledge of Chinese ceramic history is so largely based. Thus, on the Aden sites and others in the Near East there appear fragments of porcelain painted in blue and white. Their quality is often mediocre, one might be tempted to say primitive. Should we assume that such pieces are earlier in date than the "Museum pieces" that show a more accomplished style and technique? Or are they comparatively late, their defects being due to their manufacture at provincial factories where standards were not high? There is much to be said in favour of the latter assumption. Increasing evidence points to the activity of minor factories in Southern China and Annam, the region most accessible to the Islamic merchants on their voyages. A blue and white bottle of very fair quality, which has probably been in the Imperial Ottoman collection at Constantinople since the sixteenth century, bears an inscription indicating that it was made in Annam in A.D. 1450 (*Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. ii, 1933-4, p. 13, plate iv). In Sir John Home's collection are a fine jar and a bowl, stylistically akin to the Constantinople bottle, which are said to have been found in the Yemen itself (*Transactions O.C.S.*, op. cit., p. 72, plate xxx).

Stoneware and coarse porcelain were made in a country yet further to the westward of China proper, namely in Siam. Siamese celadon-glazed stoneware has been reported from Fustât, and several fragments from the Aden sites, covered with a brown glaze, are almost certainly of Siamese origin.

We have therefore to expect that Far Eastern wares from these and similar sites will be difficult to date within wide limits for the following reasons. First, there are no complete pots, and the possible stylistic criterion of shape is thus usually lacking. Second, we have to deal with wares made specially for export, and therefore not of the highest quality, even though they may have come from potteries of high reputation in China itself. And thirdly, much of

the material will be from provincial potteries in the Far East, about which little is at present known. The dates suggested for the various types listed below must therefore be accepted with caution. The period covered may run from the ninth century A.D. to the seventeenth.

(a) *Celadon-ware made at Yüeh Chou.*—Grey or occasionally brownish stoneware with glaze varying from greenish grey to olive brown. Easily recognized by the marks under the glazed bases caused by the oblong clay pellets or heaps of sand on which the vessels, here all bowls, were fired. Designs incised, or occasionally carved. Yüeh ware was found at Samarra and Fustât¹; it was made from the ninth century A.D. or earlier, until the twelfth or later. Of the three Aden sites, Abyan alone provided examples.

(b) *Celadon-ware made at Lung-ch'üan and elsewhere.*—White or greyish stoneware with thick blue-green or sea-green glaze; unglazed parts of the foot burn orange red. Though export may have begun earlier, this ware seems to have gradually supplanted the Yüeh celadon in the Near Eastern markets during the twelfth century A.D., where it continued in favour till the end of the fourteenth century and perhaps later. Early pieces are remarkable for their dull, rich glaze, resembling jade. Chinese records state that towards the end of the fourteenth century the main factories were moved from Lung-ch'üan to Ch'u Chou Fu. It is difficult to be sure of the origin of the celadon wares following this tradition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; other local factories may have contributed. These later pieces tend to have a glassier and thinner glaze, often crackled, and a greyer paste. There are many excellent fragments (? twelfth to thirteenth century) from Kawd am-Saila, fewer from Hābil. Most are of large open dishes with a narrow flattened rim, or of deep bowls, both kinds sometimes ribbed outside. From Hābil came a shoulder-fragment of a very large baluster vase with applied stem and leaf patterns in high relief; a vase of this kind in the David Collection bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1327.² A piece of a large open bowl from Abyan had similar relief-ornament.

¹ Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, 1925, plate xxiii, 9, 13–15; *Trans. Oriental Ceramic Soc.*, ii, p. 65, plate xxvii.

² R. L. Hobson, *Catalogue of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain in the Collection of Sir Percival David*, 1934, plate li. Similar vases imported to the Near East are discussed by F. Fichtner in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F. vi, 1930, pp. 74 ff.

(c) *Celadon ware, perhaps of North Chinese origin.*—Stoneware varying from dark to light brownish grey or buff at the foot, with a yellowish-olive or grey-green glaze. Wares of this kind, often with profuse carved ornament, have been widely found in North China. It would seem difficult for stoneware from the North to find its way into Arab ships, which normally called only at the South Chinese ports, and possibly the fragments from Hābil, which consist of bowl-bases and the lip of a closed jar, were made at some minor factory in the south.¹

(d) *Brown-glazed stoneware.*—Coarse paste full of impurities, burning from salmon pink through buff to light or dark grey, usually very thinly potted. The glaze on one piece is thick and almost black, more often it is of varying tones of olive or greenish brown, thin and full of pinholes and pimples. The out-turned lip of a large globular jar could be identified. Most pieces came from closed jars, with the inside unglazed or covered with a thin smear of glaze. One fragment came from the shoulder of a squat globular bottle with short neck flanked by two small vertical handles—a shape known in Siamese stoneware.² It is possible that many of these fragments are Siamese, though brown-glazed stoneware must have been commonly made at many provincial factories in the Far East. The fourteenth century may be proposed as a conventional central date. The class was richly represented at Kawd am-Saila.

(e) *White glazed stoneware.*—Body similar to the last, and also thinly potted; thick, opaque greyish white glaze. One fragment only, from Kawd am-Saila, of a closed jar unglazed inside. Possibly Siamese, fifteenth century.³

(f) *Ting ware.*—Whitish opaque stoneware, with opaque ivory-white glaze. Two bowl-fragments from Kawd am-Saila had thick unglazed rims cut flat across, and radiating petal-patterns in relief on the outside. There are many kinds of Ting ware; in South China the class was probably first made early in the twelfth century; the fragments here mentioned may date from the twelfth or thirteenth century.

¹ Nevertheless, "northern celadon" is represented in the Fustāt finds: see Leigh Ashton, *Trans. Oriental Ceramic Soc.*, ii, p. 67.

² See R. Le May, "Ceramic Wares in North-central Siam," in *Burlington Magazine*, lxi, 1933, p. 204, plate ii A-D for the type of ware; the bottle shape, but with a celadon glaze, is illustrated in W. B. Honey, *The Ceramic Wares of China, etc.*, 1945, plate 148B.

³ Compare Le May, loc. cit., p. 204, plate iie for the type; p. 207 for the dating.

(g) *Ying-ching ware*.—Granular white porcelain, translucent where thin, with a glassy transparent glaze of faintly bluish tone. Fragments from Chü-lu-hsien, a site in North China inundated in A.D. 1107, show that this ware was then already being made; it seems, however, to have been mainly current in the period twelfth to fourteenth century, when it was gradually superseded by a more compact and hard white porcelain. Kiln-debris at Te-hua in Fukien Province, South China, shows that this was one of many centres of manufacture. “Ying-ching” porcelain has been found in quantity at Fustāt, and one piece even in Zanzibar.¹ It had also considerable influence on the character of twelfth-century wares made in North-west Persia. One fragment only was found at Kawd am-Saila, part of a bowl with faint engraving under the glaze inside.

(h) *Unpainted white porcelain*.—Hard greyish-white body, with thin, glassy transparent glaze, sometimes finely crackled, and in tone greyish or greenish white. The fragments from Ḥabil and Kawd am-Saila were mostly of convex-sided bowls, thickened at the lip with a bulge on the outside, rather like a modern English pudding-basin. The glaze outside in some cases stops above the foot. One piece has two parallel concentric bands incised inside, under the glaze. Porcelain bowls very similar in shape and material were found at Samarra,² and there is another from Fustāt in the British Museum (No. 1940-4-13/19). It is quite possible that the Ḥabil and Kawd am-Saila pieces are as early as the ninth century A.D.; but on the other hand there is the evidence of al-Birūnī and al-Tha‘ālībī that “cream-coloured” porcelain was still being imported to the Near East in the first half of the eleventh century A.D.; and this kind of plain white porcelain bowl may, like the contemporary Yüeh celadons, have continued for centuries as a standard export-ware.

(i) *Porcelain painted in blue-and-white*.—The problems raised by this category have already been mentioned (p. 124). It is generally believed that painting in underglaze blue was a technique learnt from the Near East, where it was practised in Persia from the early thirteenth century onwards. The Chinese obtained their best-quality “Muhammadan” blue from the Near East in Ming times (1368-1644). The earliest dated blue-and-white pieces are a pair of

¹ L. Ashton, *Trans. Oriental Ceramic Soc.*, ii, pp. 68-9.

² F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, ii, p. 61, No. 216; plates xxiv, xxv.

large, somewhat clumsy, but ambitiously painted vases in English collections; their inscribed date corresponds to A.D. 1352,¹ and as the inscription refers to a place only seventy miles from Ching-te-chên, they were probably made in this town in south-east China which became such an important centre for porcelain in the fifteenth century and later. Hobson refers to fragments of similar style, painted with confronted ducks swimming among water-lilies, which were found by Sir Aurel Stein at Khara-Khoto on the borders of Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan, and by G. W. Murray at 'Aidhâb on the Sudan coast of the Red Sea opposite Jidda.² 'Aidhâb was destroyed in A.D. 1426, and the *floruit* of Khara-Khoto lay in the fourteenth century and earlier. The symmetrical design of water-lilies, with or without flanking ducks, seems to have been very popular on early Chinese blue-and-white export porcelain; many pieces have been found at Fustât, where they were copied by al-Ghâ'ibî and other local potters³; and there are some very fine complete vases in the Serai Collection at Constantinople.⁴

Both at Kawd am-Saila and at Hâbil were found fragments of blue-and-white of the class here discussed; a bottle fragment, with the swimming duck pattern, and pieces of rounded bowls with out-turned rims, painted on the outside with the flattened ogee arch-pattern seen on many of the early pieces illustrated by Hobson. The paste is very white, the glaze thick, with a slightly pebbled surface. The blue varies from a pale greyish to a warmer tone, developing black spots where the colour is thickest. We may provisionally call these pieces fourteenth-century, though by analogy with the Annamese vase dated 1450, quoted above,⁵ the possibility of a later date should not be excluded.

In addition to these fine pieces there were quantities of poorer quality, mainly rounded bowls, often as small as teacups. They had a glassy glaze, sometimes minutely crazed, and were painted in

¹ Illustrated and described, with other perhaps earlier pieces, by R. L. Hobson in *Old Furniture*, vi, 1929, pp. 3 ff.

² R. L. Hobson, *Old Furniture*, loc. cit., p. 4; and Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia* plate lvii and vol. i, p. 501; Hobson, "Chinese Porcelain Fragments from 'Aidhâb," in *Transactions, Oriental Ceramic Soc.*, 1926-7, p. 19, and G. W. Murray, 'Aidhâb in *Journal Royal Geographical Soc.*, lxxviii, 1926, 235.

³ A. Abel, *Gaibi et les grands faïenciers égyptiens d'époque mamlouke* (Publication du Musée de l'Art Arabe), 1930, plates xv, 76; xxiv, 112.

⁴ E. Zimmermann, *Altchinesische Porzellane im Alten Serai*, 1930, plate 26.

⁵ p. 124.

greyish or blackish blue. Patterns included a diaper of pentagonal cells, outlined petals radiating from the base, and rudimentary floral or lotus motives. One piece had rings of iron-red enamel painting round the base. Very similar pieces have been found in the Philippine and East Indian Islands.¹ They probably represent a southern Chinese or Annamese export ware made in several places from the fifteenth century or earlier till at least the seventeenth century.

IV. Glass.

Surface-finds of glass were particularly rich at Kawd am-Saila, and the presence there of large lumps of coarse greenish glass-frit pointed to local manufacture for some, at any rate, of the finds.

Much of the glass was broken into fragments too small to allow the shapes of the original vessels to be recognized. The metal was of many colours; pale blue-green the commonest, followed by pale emerald green and an almost colourless glass with a yellowish tinge. Small and more thinly blown vessels were of pale or deep blue, and pale or deep amber yellow, these being colours consciously contrived and not due to natural impurities in the materials.

The shapes of the undecorated glasses seem mainly to have been bottles, often with a bulge in the neck. Their general character would accord well with the pieces illustrated on plate 3 of Lamm's ² great work, for which the date-range lies mainly between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Several pieces were from dishes or bottles that had been blown in a patterned mould and then further spun or manipulated, the pattern losing its shape and definition in proportion as this process was prolonged. Examples of rather similar glass are shown on Lamm's plates 9-10, dating mainly from the ninth century.

One fragment only, the neck of a bottle in thick dark blue glass, had wheel-cut sliced ornament of the kind shown on Lamm's plate 55, Nos. 3 and 4.

There were several pieces of dull blue glass overlaid with parallel

¹ See W. Robb and H. O. Beyer, "New data on Chinese and Siamese Ceramic Wares of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in the *Philippine Magazine*, vol. xxvii, 1930. Also R. D. Verbeek, "Oud Chineesch Porcelain in Nederlandsch-Indië," in *Nederlandsch-Indië Oud & Nieuw*, vol. 3, 1918, pp. 107, 357 ff.

² C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, 1930.

threads of opaque white or white and red, which had been "combed" and then pressed down into the surface. Some obviously came from long thin scent-bottles with faceted sides. For the type, see Lamm, plate 32. "Combed" glass was apparently made from early Islamic times till the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.

A tiny fragment of thin, opaque turquoise blue glass apparently belonged to a Persian cup or mug like examples in the British and Victoria and Albert Museums.¹ Another isolated fragment appeared to be of the Venetian "chalcedony" glass of the sixteenth or seventeenth century A.D.

Perhaps the most interesting of the glass found at Kawd am-Saila were the numerous womens' bangles or bracelets, usually triangular in section with a deep outer keel. Some were of plain green glass, but the majority had stripes and spots of opaque glass in a variety of colours—white, red, yellow, blue, etc. The work was often very elaborate—"eye" patterns built up in rings of different colour, strands of different colour twisted together to give a bangle circular in section, decoration "combed" and inlaid. One fragment of blue glass had long flat-cut facets on the outer side, with dots in opaque white glass between them. A few short straight strips with strands of two or more colours laid together could not have been fragments of bangles, nor were they beads; it is possible that they were waste pieces from a local factory for these ornaments.

No one yet appears to have studied these bangles, which had a wide distribution in the Near East. The late Sir Aurel Stein had a disturbing habit of discovering them buried at deep levels in the same strata as prehistoric pottery,² but on other sites in south-east Persia they appear to have been found by him associated with medieval objects. Two complete coloured bangles in the Victoria and Albert Museum are said to have come from Persia, and two fairly simple ones are included in the list of finds on the ninth century site of Samarra in Mesopotamia.³ On the site Al-Mina at the mouth of the Orontes in North Syria, where the medieval finds were

¹ No. C. 134-1936.

² Sir Aurel Stein, *Archaeological reconnaissances in north-western India and south-eastern Iran*, 1937. See index for the numerous references, and plate x for coloured illustrations of specimens. See also, Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 1928, p. 963, and plate cxvi for bangles found in the Desert Delta of Sistan.

³ Victoria and Albert Museum C. 148 and 149-1936 (from Persia). C. J. Lamm, *Das Glas von Samarra*, 1928, p. 108, nos. 299-300.

apparently in two main deposits representing the ninth to tenth centuries, and then after a gap the thirteenth century, there were practically no glass bangles; the only examples came from graves that on other evidence should be dated in the fifth to sixth centuries A.D., and these were very simple.¹ They were triangular in section, mostly of plain green glass, but in one case of strands of dark and light green transparent glass. The glass bangles found at 'Aidhāb on the Red Sea coast (see p. 128 note 2), appear to have been similar in kind to those from the Aden sites.

It would thus appear from the probably incomplete evidence that these elaborate bangles of coloured glass have been found in greatest quantity in the areas fringing the Red Sea, Arabian Gulf, and Persian Gulf as far as India. It is difficult not to regard Sir Aurel Stein's bangles from chalcolithic strata as intruders. The type of bangle may be presumed to have been current in the Near East before Islam; it reached its greatest technical elaboration after the ninth century A.D. and before the fifteenth century (when 'Aidhāb was destroyed). There is some evidence to think that a factory for this kind of glass existed at Kawd am-Saila, and there may have been others in South Arabia. The technique of using polychrome opaque glass goes back to the XIIth Dynasty in Egypt, perhaps earlier; it is found in the Roman "millefiori" bowls, the Islamic "millefiori" panels at Samarra (Lamm, *op. cit.*, plates viii, ix), and again in Venetian glass of the Renaissance.²

It is incidentally worth mentioning that at Kawd am-Saila were found two fragments of very thin bracelets, circular in section, and coloured in strong royal blue and scarlet respectively. These appear to be of comparatively recent Venetian manufacture. There was also a fragment of a bottle with moulded relief decoration, which has been identified as of the kind used to contain a famous modern English lime-juice cordial.

¹ See A. Lane, "Medieval finds at Al Mina in North Syria," in *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, pp. 74-5. The objects are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

² It is of interest to find that the making of glass bracelets, with bands and spots of different colours, is very fully described in the famous mediæval technical treatise *Diversarum artium schedula*, Book ii, chapter 31. "Theophilus," the author, has been identified as the monk Roger of Helmershausen near Paderborn; he died c. 1120. Convenient translation of the text in C. Winston, *An inquiry into the difference of style* observable in ancient glass paintings (London, 1867), p. 380.

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Kirghiz Proverbs from the Sphere of Family Life

By J. BENZING

THE people living in the Turkestan steppe region and usually known as "Kirghiz" call themselves "Kazakh", and they are by customs and dialect different from their Turco-Tatar relatives who lead a half-nomadic life in the Tien Shan and in the Pamir Alay Mountains of Central Asia and who, though recorded in Western literature as "Buruts" or "Karakirghiz", are the real Kirghiz. As they are one of the earliest known Turco-Tatar tribes, both the language and history of this little people¹ merit some attention, all the more because since the foundation of the Kirghiz Socialist Soviet Republic (in 1924) the language has become a literary one and, together with social and economic life, has developed a good deal.

Folklore texts from the Kirghiz have been collected (in 1862) and published (in 1885) especially by Wilhelm Radloff in vol. v of the *Examples of the Folk-Literature of Turkish Tribes*. They have been written—like other publications on the Kirghiz language (e.g. Almasy's notes "Über die Sprache der Kara-Kirgisen" in the Hungarian *Revue Orientale*, vol. ii)—in a phonetic transcription. From 1928 the literary language was officially written in the Latin characters adapted for the Eastern languages of the U.S.S.R., and on this Latin alphabet has been based the "Kirgizsko-russkij slovar" by Professor K. K. Yudakhin, published in 1940 by the Orientalistic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., the best dictionary of a Turco-Tatar language I have had in hand till now. Among the numerous examples of the use of words, the dictionary contains more than 600 proverbs. About one-tenth of them are taken from the sphere of family life and illustrate an interesting part of the social structure of this people. The social structure reflected in these proverbs is now entirely dissolved in the towns of the Kirghiz S.S.R., whereas it is still alive in the country, especially among the Kirghiz of Chinese Turkestan.

¹ According to the census of 17th January, 1939, in the U.S.S.R. there are 884,306 Kirghiz; their number in Chinese Turkestan may be estimated at half a million.

For the legality of matrimony two things are indispensable which in Islamic canonical terminology are called *mahr* and *nikāh*. The latter is the formal contract of marriage which from the fact that it is called by its Arabic name *nike*, seems to be a relatively recent requirement for legal matrimony. We meet with it in one proverb only: (1) *Kyzelyy¹ sez — nikelyy qatyn* "a word given in presence of witnesses is (like) a canonically married wife". The other requirement is the "bride-price" (Arabian *mahr*, Kirghiz *qalyñ*). Though it is, according to the educated classes, not a price for the purchase of the wife, but a compensation for the expense of the wedding and for the loss of a working woman, the popular view is clearly shown in one of the proverbs dealing with this matter: (2) *Bajdy twup alat, najbiceni² satyp alat* "the master of the house is begotten, the mistress of the house is bought". Sometimes a debt was paid by deducting the bride-price and marrying the daughter to the creditor: (3) *Bireenyn tooqun çesen, qaz bajla³; malyñ çesen, qyz bajla* "if you eat with anyone a hen, fatten a goose; if you eat cattle with him, fatten (i.e. prepare for wedding) the daughter". The bride-price usually is paid in cattle: (4) *Bajtalduuça qatyn çoquu!* "(it is impossible that) for a man who possesses mares there were no wife!"; it is said to amount to 15–20 heads, generally (v. Tahir Schakir-Zade, *Grundzüge der Nomadenwirtschaft*, Bruchsal, 1931, p. 102), but for a beautiful girl or a girl with a rich dowry the price may be much higher: (5) *Septyy qazdın qalyñ sekseñ çylq, segiz tō* "the bride-price for a maid with dowry is 80 horses and 8 camels", i.e. for good merchandise you will have to pay much. A bridegroom of rank will try to reduce the price on account of his distinction and so they say: (6) *Mıqtı kyjō çatqan qalyñça toqojt* "a distinguished fiancé reckons his passing the night with his bride in the bride-price".

The women have a hard life, with not only housekeeping but the care of the herds on their shoulders. (7) *Qatındı çerde celek bar* "where there is a wife, also a pail is found". When moreover to a husband is applied the proverb (8) *Bireenyn qatyn bireege qyz korynet* "the wife of another seems to one to be a maid", then

¹ *kyzelyy* "having witnesses" from *kyzo* (< Pers. *gawāh*) "witness".

² *bajbice* (arch.) "the eldest of the wives, the first wife; mistress of the house".

³ *bajla* "to tie; to fat (because the cattle they wish to fatten are not allowed to run about)".

"of what use are rouge and cosmetic to a wife whom her husband does not love?" (9) *eri syjbes qatnoja endik-upa ne pajda?* And from this ejaculation we come to the proverb (10) *Qatn qnşılap syjlep, qbz bolsojt* "however much a (married) woman whimpers, she no more becomes a maid", but her younger sister, taking to heart her bitter experiences, says (11) *Eçekeme¹ işenip, ersiz qaldım* "trusting my elder sister, I remained unmarried".

Women are not always faultless. (12) *Qatn qalp ajtpajt,² qanbrş³ uqat* "the woman does not lie, she only does not duly listen", (13) *Çaman qatn başın çuubaj, bitten keret* "a bad wife does not wash her head and charges the louse (with biting)". (14) *Qatn çaman er qorujt* "a bad wife guards the husband (leads him by the nose)"; this proverb recalls the Kazakh proverb (14a) *Erkek, çer qoruja kycij; qatn, er qoruja kycij* "the man has the power to guard the country, the woman has the power to guard the man". Men need some guard, for (15) *Qymbızdı kim icejin devesin, qızdı kim qucajın devesin!* "who would not wish to drink kumiss, who would not wish to embrace a girl!" (16) *Qatn erdi qarasa, er çerdi qarajt* "if the wife looks at the husband (reproaching him for anything), he looks ashamed to the earth".

(17) *Kyjgen qatn qoşoqcul bolot* "a woman in love likes to sing", (18) *Kelindin betin kim aca, oşol ısq* "he who unveils the face of a young wife is agreeable to her", (19) *Qatn erden cıqsa da, elden cıqpajt* "a wife may go away from the husband, but she cannot go away from the clan". Whereas the man is allowed to marry several wives—provided that he is able to pay the price—with regard to women they say: (20) *Eri turup, erge tijgen — bettin qarash* "to marry a man while a husband is alive, is scandalous". But "a woman marrying again after her husband's death becomes a young woman anew" (21) *eri ılıp, erge tijgen qatn kelincek bolot*.

(22) *Çoo ajağan çaraluu, qatn qaraluu* "he who spares an enemy (will be) wounded, his wife (will be) in mourning", (23) *Kçekenden otun artat, elğenden qatn artat* "behind him who removes

¹ *eçke* is a pet form for *eçe* "the elder sister; the elder wife (with regard to the younger one)".

² *qalp* (< Arab. *qalb* "inversion, transposition") "a lie", *qalp ajt* "to tell lies".

³ *qanbrş* "not well listening", cf. also *qanbrıq* "a man with a defect of speech and hearing", *qanbrı tabıq* "loud from afar", *qanbrı uqulat* "it is scarcely heard from afar".

his tent the fuel is left, and behind the dying the wife is left" and she has, together with her friends, to "bewail her husband" (*aza¹ kytyp oturuu*): (24) *Alt qatyn azağa barsa, ar kimisi öz muḡun aḡtat* "if six women go to a mourning, each of them tells her own grief".

With regard to children we may put here a proverb common probably to all Turco-Tatar tribes²: (25) *Balahu yj — bazar, balasız yj — mazar* "a house with children is a bazaar, a house without children is a cemetery" = (25a) *balahu yj kylystön, balasız yj kerystön*³ "a house with children is a flower-garden, a house without children is a church-yard". Until the birth of her first child, the wife is called *kelin* "newly married; daughter-in-law": (26) *Bee tuumajınca bajtal at qalbat, qatyn tuumajınca kelin at qalbat* "as long as a mare has not yet foaled, it is called a young-mare; a woman not yet having a child continues to be called a young-woman".⁴ In the polygamous family of the Kirghiz certain distinctions are made among the children: (27) *Atalaştan⁵ altoo bolojonco, enelesten ekөө бол* "it is better to be two of the same mother than six of the same father (but of different mothers)", but, that notwithstanding, "for the father there is no distinction among the children" (28) *atağa balanyn alalboḡy çoḡ*.

The Kirghiz prefer sons to daughters. (29) *Qız bardyn nazı bar* "he who has a daughter has caprices, too". (30) *Qızdyn konyly qızılda* "the daughters' hearts are with the red": as early as in A.D. 1073 the Turkish lexicographer Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī hands down the proverb (30a) *Qılnu bilse qızıl keḡer, jaranu bilse jaşıl keḡer* "a woman knowing how to flirt dresses in red, one knowing how to coquet dresses in green". But the worst of daughters is that by marriage they go out of the family; (31) *Qız — cijden*

¹ *aza* (< Arab. 'azā) "mourning", hence *azadar* (< Pers. 'azālar) "mournful".

² For the Bashkirs, e.g. it is recorded under No. 417 in the book Gabidov-Vildanov *Boronoḡblardn kyḡḡere* (Bashkir "Proverbs"), Moscow, 1924. Cf. N. K. Dmitrijev "Proverbi dei Bāshqird", *Oriente Moderno*, vii (1927), 4.

³ *kylystön, kerystön* from Persian *gulistān, ḡuristān*.

⁴ The grammatical construction of this phrase is rather difficult. We should expect *at qalat* "the name of . . . remains" instead of *at qalbat* "the name of . . . does not remain". Other examples of this kind have not yet occurred to me; the usual construction may be seen in the phrase: *qıl dedirmejince ḡbalajt* "unless you have him told to do it he does nothing".

⁵ The common Turco-Tatar suffix + *daş* denoting a fellow, a companion reads + *laş* in Kirghiz, the *l* of which may change to *d*, *t* according to the phonetic laws of this dialect. Cf. also proverb No. 69.

təşqar "the daughters—out of the mats of the tent",¹ (32) *Uuluŋ esse — urumoŋa, qəzən esse — qərməŋa* "if to you a son grows up—it is for the kin, if to you a daughter grows up—she goes far away".² (33) *Atın ƣaqş bolso — ƣoldun ƣraaƣb, uuluŋ ƣaqş bolso — kənyl cəraaƣb* "if you have a good horse, a far way (does not trouble you); if you have a good son, (he is) a shining light for the heart", and "if your son is fit, your field is tilled" (34) *Balaŋ, pəjdalu bolso, aştəŋəŋ, ajdalu*. And what is the matter with bad children? (35) *Ƣaman ul atas bəlgəndə kəbət* "a bad son assumes an important air when his father has died", and (36) *Qəz boozup*,³ *enesin qorqutat* "the daughter who becomes pregnant with child intimidates the mother", which is told when one guilty blames another person for his fault.

According to Chinese tradition the ancestors of the Kirghiz were a fair-complexioned people, and I was told by natives that among them there still are some blond people. This statement is verified by the proverb (37) *Eki sarıdan maymılca tuuŋt, eki qaradan qaraƣaca tuuŋt* "from two fair ones a little ape is born, from two black ones a little crow is born". About qualities derived from parents they say (38) *Enesi boluşcaaqtıŋ qəz bəlaaq, atas boluşcaaqtıŋ uulu bəlaaq*⁴ "with a charitable mother the daughter is whining, with a charitable father the son is whining". The mother is responsible for the education of the daughters whereas sons are trained by the father: (39) *Enesi ƣoq qəz, atas ƣoq ul — ƣetesiz* "a daughter without mother, a son without father are children who grow up without parental control".⁵ (40) *Bolor qulum ƣelede bulquŋt, bolor bala bəşikte bulquŋt* "a fit foal tugs at the fetters,

¹ *cij* is a kind of steppe-grass (*Lasiagrostis splendens*) used for mats, especially for covering the frame-work of the tents.

² *qərm* means "far apart, remote" in Kirghiz, cf. the proverb (32a) *Quş balast qərməŋa qaraŋt, it balast ƣərməŋa qaraŋt* "the hawk looks far away, the dog looks to the thong (he wishes to bite off)". I am uncertain whether this Kirghiz word *qərm* takes its origin from Turkish *Qərm* "the Crimea" or whether the (hitherto unexplained) name of the Crimea may originate from *qərm* "the remote town or country" which perhaps might be etymologically connected with the common Turco-Tatar *qərbj* "bank, shore, beach; limit"; cf. Karaim *ez kyryj* "the native country", *jat kyryj* "foreign country", and *kyryjdahy* "the farthest".

³ Kirghiz *boozu* < *boƣaz* + *b* < *boƣaz* (Kirgh. *booz*) "pregnant with child".

⁴ The construction of the phrase requires the note that the genitive suffix (+ *nən*; here + *tən* after *q*) is appended to the short phrase *enesi boluşcaaq, atas boluşcaaq* "her mother is charitable, his father is charitable".

⁵ *ƣele* means the origin of a person, *ƣetesiz* is "without parents or relatives", then "a child growing up without parental control".

a fit child tugs at the cradle"; this combination foal — child is also found with other Turco-Tatar peoples, e.g. in a similar Chuvash proverb (40a) *ut pulassi t'yharan pallä, elem pulassi acarän pallä* "what will become a (fit) horse is seen from the foal, what will become a (fit) man is seen from the child". (41) *Majqana körböj, bala oñolbojt* "without playing the children's games no child will thrive".

(42) *Ejlabacıan balaqja emcek çoq* "to a child that does not cry there is no mother's breast" = (42a) *bala ejlabaj, emcek qana?* "if the child does not cry, where is the mother's breast?", but an orphan has to care for himself: (43) *Çetim öz kindigin özy keset* (= Turkish *öksüz çocuk göbeğini kendi keser*) "an orphan cuts his navel-string himself". (44) *Eçe kījendi sındi kījet* "what was worn by the elder sister will be worn by the younger one, too". Just as they believe that "the unloved son carries on the work of the forefathers" (45) *çaman kergen ulu tıp tutat*, they say "the girl getting on the shelf will make a good match (at last)" (46) *olturojan qız orun alat*. Some further sayings: (47) *Balam bar dep maqtanba, topto bireş çoq bolso* "do not boast of your having children when there is none of them with the company"; (47a) *aldırojan enesinin gojnun acat* "he from whom has been stolen opens the bosom-pocket of his mother (when searching for the stolen goods)". "The best of the sons is the honourable one, the best of the daughters-in-law is the stately one" (48) *ul çaqışsız — urmat, kelin çaqışsız — kelbet*.

The relations between the members of a family provide many subjects for proverbs. (49) *Ataң qabır bolso, eneңe bıcaq ber* "if your father is an unbeliever, give your mother a knife", and "do not leave the way you know even for your father" (i.e. do not leave the well-known way even if your father tells you that you will lose your way): (50) *Bilgen çolundu ataңa berbe*; both of these proverbs show no esteem for the father. On the other hand the presence of an old man in a house is of good omen: (51) *Qarıs bardın ırıs bar* "he who has an old man (in his house), has luck". To this proverb similar in a certain degree is (52) *Qarlınu yj ırısız bolbos* "a house with an old man is not unpleasant".¹

¹ In Yudakhin's Dictionary we find the translation "a house with an old man does not lack superstitious beliefs" and indeed this may be correct with regard to the meaning of *ırım* "belief in supernatural things, superstition".

I add here (53) *Açajındın qadırın çalahu bolson, bilersin, atanenin qadırın balahu bolson, bilersin* "you will know the value of brothers when you are calumniated, you will know the value of parents when you have children yourself". Also with the Kirghiz, blood is thicker than water; this is shown by the following: (54) *Tuutamıdan tuuğanın bolsun!* "among those who cut up the meat may there be relatives of yours!" for then you will eat your fill; (55) *Tuura bijde tuuğan çoq, tuuğanduu bijde ıjman çoq* "a just judge has no relations, and a judge with relations has no conscience".

"Mutual hospitality is the sign of relationship" (56) *keliş-ketiş tuuğandıqtın belgisi*. (57) *Atın sır eesine maalım, qızdın sır torkynıne maalım* "the secrets of a horse are known to its owner, the secrets of a maid are known to her relations".¹ But often there are dissensions between the members of the family: (58) *Çaqın talaşa, çatqa çem* "if kinsmen quarrel with each other, it is food for the strangers", (59) *Ooru aştan, doo qarındaştan* "sickness (originates) from food, quarrel (originates) from the relatives", (60) *Dosondonun çanı bir, qudandanın malı bir* "with good friends the soul is one, with the relations (by marriage) (nothing but) the goods are one", (61) *Kyzgy kycındy kyjeñe berbe* "do not give your autumnal strength (i.e. the working cattle in the harvest labour) to your son-in-law", (62) *İlgeri barardıñ iti cöp çejt, keder ketkendin kelini uuru qılat* "the dog of a successful man eats grass, the young wife (or the daughter-in-law) of one who goes backward with misfortune steals". (63) *Çeen el bolbojt, çelke ton bolbojt* "the nephew of the wife does not become a family member, the withers are not fit for a fur". On the kindred festivals, the *çeender*, i.e. the

In the proverb (52a) *brıst çoqtun brımb kyc* "who has no luck has strong superstition" we find the two assonant words *brıst* and *brımb* side by side in a clearly distinct use. But viewing the fact that *brıstuu* "blessed, happy" and *brımduu* "pleasant, agreeable" not only by formation but also in meaning come rather near to each other, I preferred to translate *brımbız* by "unpleasant" so that the proverbs Nos. 51 and 52 are essentially the same.

¹ Cf. also (57a) *çoo sırbın çoo bilet* "only an enemy knows the enemy's secrets". *Torkyn* means the "relations of the wife" (the spelling *türkün* in the indexes of Kášghari's Diván ought to be corrected to *törkün*, cf. (57b) *Buğada qajın çoq, inekte torkyn çoq* "the ox has no brother-in-law (brother of the wife), the cow has no relations", and (57c) *Çaman qatın cıqqan çerin torkynıyjt* "a bad wife does *torkynıy*- the place she has come to (by marriage)", *torkynıy*- means "to have the same relations which a married woman has to her parents' house and country, i.e. only to pay short visits".

nephews of the wife and the grandchildren of the daughter, could claim a special gift from the meal or right to choose a horse from the herd of their uncle or grandfather. This gift—be it meal or horse—was called *çeen ajaq* “the nephew’s cup”. Thence: (64) *Çeen kelgence, çeti bery kelsin!* “rather than a grandchild from the daughter or a relation from the wife’s side come, may seven wolves come!”

(65) *Keler söz kelin ajtat* “a necessary, due word is (also) pronounced by the daughter-in-law”; (66) *Qajnaça qaltajbasa, kelin keltejbajt* “if the elder brother-in-law is not reserved, the young wife will not be shy”; (67) *Otqo çaqbñ bş kyjjet,¹ çepene çaqbñ qbz kyjjet* “he who is near to the fire is troubled by the smoke, the maid who is near to the wife of the elder brother is troubled, too”. (68) *Абысынъ болсо, кыным чоқ деме* “if your husband has a sister-in-law, do not say that you have no rival”.² (69) *Ajlaş qatbñ — mundaş* “wives in the same month of pregnancy feel each other’s griefs”.

I end this collection of Kirghiz proverbs with one that refers to the half-nomadic life of the Kirghiz who spend the winter in a village and in summer tend their cattle on the mountain-pastures: (70) *Eki çaqş bir çajlooço çqsa, qudalaşыр tyset; eki çaman eir çajlooço çqsa, qudalaşыр tyset* “if two good ones go out to the same summer-pasture, they come down allied by marriage; if two bad ones go out to the same summer-pasture, they come down persecuting each other”.

¹ Kirghiz, Teleut, Shor, etc., *bş* as well as Kazakh, Sagay, Koibal *bs* “smoke, soot” show that we ought to spell in the Káshghari-indexes *ış* instead of *iz*. The first part of the above proverb is rather common, cf. (67a) *Qazanaja çaqbñ çyrse, keesý çuqat* “if one passes near the kettle, its soot sticks to him (= Uzbek *qazanaja jaqbñ jyrma, qarash juqar*)”, whilst the second part is not clear to me though Yudakhin gives the hint that the “maid” is the sister of the husband. I doubt whether *kyj-* is translated correctly; it means “to wait; to burn; to fade, to disappear; to trouble oneself, to care; to fall in love”, and if we prefer this last meaning we get “the maid who is near to the wife of the elder brother falls in love” (but with whom?).

² *abyson* is the term of affinity between the wives of two brothers; *kynyn* means the affinity between the wives of one man. Cf. with Káshghari *küni* “a fellow-wife” and the saying (68a) *küninin küline tegi jaqb* “hostile to the ashes of the fellow-wife”.

Rñin-ma-pa : the Early Form of Lamaism

By LI AN-CHE

RÑIN-MA-PA is the early form of Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, as the name shows, but is popularly known as the Red Sect. The term "early" refers to Buddhism as introduced into Tibet before its destruction in the reign of King Glan-dar-ma (836-841). There is no difference between the exoteric Buddhism of the early and later periods. But in esoteric Buddhism, dependent upon direct instruction of the masters, there is a difference between the two. The early form and what has persisted since then is known as the "earlier translation" (sna-hgyur) or Rñin-ma; and what was reintroduced after that king's death is known as "later translation" (phyi-hgyur), which branches out into different sects such as the Sa-skyapa, the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa, and the Dge-lugs-pa, popularly called the Mixed-coloured, the White, and the Yellow. This paper is concerned only with the Red Sect.

(1) *Historical Background*.—The Tibetans believe themselves to be the descendants of a monkey and a demon in female form, the transformed bodies of the God of Mercy (Avalokita or Spyān-ras-gzigs) and the Goddess of Mercy (Tārā or Sgrol-ma).¹ The rulers, however, had Indian ancestry. A prince from India wandered to the top of the snow mountain Lha-ri-gyaṅ-tho, where twelve shepherds saw him descending the valley Btsan-thaṅ-sgo-bzhi. On being asked whence he came, the prince pointed upward. Imagining he came from heaven, the shepherds made him their king, carrying him home seated in a wooden seat on their shoulders. The name of this first king, is Gñāḥ-khri-btsan-po, "the king seated on neck."

Including him, seven kings had the name Khri included in their full names.² During the reign of two later kings, popularly known as two De,³ armour and other weapons of war were invented together

¹ Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho's *Ris-med-chos-kyi-hbyuṅ-gnas (Outline of Tibetan History of Buddhism)*.

² Gñāḥ-khri-btsan-po, Mu-khri-btsan-po, Diṅ-khri-btsan-po, So-khri-btsan-po, Mer-khri-btsan-po, Gdags-khri-btsan-po, Sribḥ-khri-btsan-po.

³ Gri-gum-btsan-po and Bya-khri.

with the arts of agriculture, irrigation, mining, and bridge-building.

Then came kings known as Six Legs,¹ Eight Lde,² and Five Btsan.³ Except during the reign of the last nothing but Bonism was known.⁴

To Lha-tho-tho-ri came a foreboding of Buddhism when he was sixty years old. A box containing a golden pagoda and some magic formulas alleged to have come from heaven were brought to him by an Indian monk, Blo-sems-htsho. The contents were not understood, but worshipped as something mysterious (gñan-po-saṅ-ba).

After him reigned four other kings,⁵ the last Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan. Altogether there were thirty-two kings, said to have reigned more than five hundred years. Called kings, they were chieftains ruling over small patches of vast grassland. Beginning with King Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan, the contact with Chinese cultures became so frequent that astronomy and medicine were introduced into Tibet. The king is reputed to have ridden back from a hunt with meat hung over his saddle. It fell into a salt-lick, which led to men taking salt with their food.

If the advent of Buddhism was associated with Lha-tho-tho-ri, who was later acknowledged as an incarnation of "The All-Good Religious Body" (Samantabhadra or Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po), it was formally introduced by King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (569-650), an incarnation of the God of Mercy; and its full development was furthered by Kings Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (742-780) and Khri-ral-pa-can (814-836), incarnations of Mañjuśrī (Hjam-pahi-dbyaṅs) or God of Wisdom, and Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-na-rdo-rje) or God of Power respectively.

It was King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po who married a Nepal princess and the Chinese Princess Wen-ch'eng, the latter in 641; who sent people to India to learn Indian letters in order to invent a Tibetan

¹ E-ṣo-legs, De-ṣo-legs, Thi-ṣo-legs, Gu-ru-legs, Hbroṅ-rje-legs, I-ṣo-legs.

² Za-nam-zin-lde, Lde-hphrul-gnam-gzuṅ-btsan, Se-snoḷ-nam-lde, Se-snoḷ-po-lde, Lde-snoḷ-nam, Lde-sdol-po, Lde-rgyal-po, Lde-sprin-btsan.

³ Ri-loṅ-btsan, Khri-sñan-nam, Khri-sgra-dpuṅ-btsan, Khri-tho-rje-btsan, Lha-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan.

⁴ See the writer's paper on "Bon: the Magico-religious Belief of the Tibetan-speaking peoples".

⁵ Khri-gñan-gzuṅ-btsan, Hgro-gñan-ldehu, Stag-ri-gñan-gzigs, Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan.

script for Buddhistic scriptures, and who standardized measures and proclaimed twenty rules¹ for government. During his reign Bonism adapted many Buddhistic writings, which were buried and made secret under the domination of Buddhism, but later were excavated as Bon scriptures.

King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's grandson imported tea and porcelain from the interior of China, and his great-grandson, Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan, married the Chinese Princess Chin-ch'eng in 710. During the reign of the latter many Buddhist temples were built, but there was yet no monk properly ordained.

Princess Chin-ch'eng gave birth to the famous king Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. When he was young, some persecution of Buddhism was engineered by powerful ministers. But as soon as he gained control he had the persecutors killed and the Bonists oppressed. Masters from India, namely Śānta-rakshita (Zhi-ba-htsho) and Padma-hbyuñ-gnas (the Lotus-born) were invited to Tibet. The first monastery, Bsam-yas, was built in 762-6, and later seven Tibetan monks were ordained for the first time. Śānta-rakshita was a teacher, and Padma-hbyuñ-gnas a wonder-worker. Buddhism as an institution of religious instruction owes its foundation to Śānta-rakshita, who died in Tibet. But the wonder-worker became better known for his worsting the elements hostile to Buddhism, although he had to leave Tibet at the end of two visits which taken together did not last more than eighteen months.

The sort of Buddhism then prevailing belonged to the Yogācārya Mahāyāna School, which was opposed both by the native Bonists and by the Chinese monks who were doing missionary work there ; by the former because it was a foreign importation ; by the latter

¹ (1) One who kills is to be killed. (2) One who steals must return the thing stolen and shall be punished by a fine of eight times its value. (3) The adulterous shall be mutilated and exiled. (4) One who is accused of speaking falsehood shall swear in proof of innocence. (5) Take refuge in the Buddha, his Doctrine, and his Congregation. (6) Reciprocate parental care with filial piety. (7) Respect the elder. (8) Imitate the gentle and wise. (9) Violate not the righteous and noble ; but accept their admonition. (10) Model one's behaviour after the righteous. (11) Learn Buddhism, such letters and meaning. (12) Believe in causality and be ashamed of evil. (13) Help relatives and friends without annoying them. (14) Rectify the heart. (15) Do not drink beyond your capacity. (16) Pay debts when due. (17) Do not use measures privately manufactured. (18) Do not interfere with others' business without being asked for help. (19) Make yourself responsible in dealing with important matters, taking no heed of what is said by a woman. (20) Make a vow before a deity if uncertain as to right and wrong.

because it was too coloured with image-worshipping and wonder-working. But both were defeated in open debates. The Chinese monks were then driven out, and the Indian master Kamala-sīla, who came after the death of Śānta-rakshita and defeated the Chinese monks, held sway over Tibetan religion.

Khri-ral-pa-can followed his grandfather Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan in making territorial expansions and in favouring Buddhism. His aggressive attitude toward the Chinese emperor of the T'ang Dynasty ended in the erection of a Monument of Peace in Lhasa, which is still extant. In addition to the standardization and promotion of Buddhist translations, a large scale Indianization of local institutions and the establishment of many temples and monasteries, he grouped the ordinary families into sevens, each seven to support one monk. Those who dared to call a monk names had their tongues cut. A finger was cut off, if pointed at a monk with evil intention. If one stared at a monk in anger, one's eyes were gouged out. This king aroused so much opposition that he was murdered in 836.

His elder brother, Glañ-dar-ma, being installed in his stead, destroyed whatever Buddhism there was in Tibet. The Rñiñ-ma School of Buddhism embodies what was taught in Tibet before Glañ-dar-ma's reign (836-841) and what has persisted since. Five or seven generations after Glañ-dar-ma new masters went to India to study Buddhism and made new translations into Tibetan. The most important were Rin-chen-bzañ-po (970-?), Hgrog-mi (992-?), Mar-pa (1012-1096), etc. A famous Indian master, A-ti-ṣa (982-1054), came to Tibet in 1042. This new wave of translations and reintroduction of Buddhism into Tibet gave rise to later schools, in contradistinction to the Rñiñ-ma-pa or early school.

(2) *The Teaching of Rñiñ-ma-pa*.—Buddhism is divided into nine categories :—

(a) For one who hearing the doctrine understands it (ñan-thos-pa); (b) for perfection through one's own exertions without enlightenment through promoting the welfare of others (rañ-saṅs-rgyas or the Solitary Non-teaching Buddha); (c) for spiritual enlightenment like a Bodhisattwa (Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ); (d) esoteric treatise on external performance (Bya-baḥi-rgyud); (e) esoteric treatise on internal as well as external conduct (spyod-pa-ḥi-rgyud); (f) esoteric treatise concerning the union with the Universal Spirit in meditation (rnal-ḥbyor-rgyud or yoga):

(g) the Great Yoga (mahā-yoga); (h) the Anu-Yoga; and (i) the Ati-Yoga.

The first two (a-b) are of the Lesser Vehicle (Hīnayāna), all the rest of the Greater (Mahāyāna). The former can only deliver the aspirant, the latter will save the many. Again, the first three (a-c) are exoteric in the sense that everybody who wants to hear them is entitled to do so. All the others are esoteric, accessible only to the initiated. The first three (a-c) are said to have been delivered by Śākya-muni, the incarnate Buddha or Transformation-body. The second three (d-f) are esoteric externally, delivered by the Dispensation-body or Vajra-sattva (rdo-rje-sems-dpañ). The last three (g-i) are esoteric internally, delivered by the Law-body or Samantabhadra (kun-tu-bzan-po).

Of the six categories of esoteric Buddhism, three are externally so because they are shared by other sects of Lamaism, while the other three are internally so because they are particularly characteristic of the Rñiñ-ma-pa. Their essential methods of attainment are characterized by the utilization of what is otherwise generally discarded, such as anger, lust, and what belongs to the material body. The material body is generally considered a shackle, a source of evil, or something to be dreaded by the spirit. But here it is taken as a profitable means to help the spirit in its enriched life of perfection. To this end there are three classes of teaching.

First, the "transformed", equivalent to the Great Yoga. It is believed that everybody has within himself what is identical with the Buddha (Enlightenment). But because of ignorance and prejudice one becomes embedded in entanglements. By means of mentally creating the images of the tutelaries, however, one may become identified with them (union or Yoga), so that the impure are purified, and in the state of meditation thus resulting the arteries and other parts of the body are released to such an extent that there arise happiness, light, and thoughtlessness. This sort of teaching is further divided into Treatise (rgyud-sde) and Methodology (sgrub-sde).

The Treatise includes such works as *The Serene and Angry in Transformation* (sgyu-hphrul-zhi-khro) and *The Nucleus of Mysticism or the King of Treatises* (rgyud-rgyal-gsañ-ba-sñiñ-po). There are fifty-eight tutelary gods of serene manifestations and forty-two of anger, making a total of "one hundred most supreme serene and angry tutelaries" (zhi-khro-dam-pa-rigs-brgya).

Methodology is composed of the practical measures on the basis of the Treatise. The practice embodied in the worship of the Eight Tutelaries (sgrub-pa-bkañ-brgyad) constitutes the eight methods of attainments. The Eight Tutelaries are as follows :—

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| 1. The Body of Mañjuçrī
(hjam-dpal-skuhi-lha) | (a) with an altar
symbolized by
a dark yellow
triangle | (b) to abolish
haughtiness | (c) and to attain
wisdom of
universal
equality |
| 2. The Word of the
Horse-headed Lord
(padma-gsuñ-gi-lha) | (a) with an altar
symbolized by
a dark blue
triangle | (b) to abolish
jealousy | (c) and to attain
the wisdom of
discernment |
| 3. The True Intention
(yañ-dag-thugs-kyi-lha) | (a) with an altar
symbolized by
a greenish
triangle | (b) to abolish
anger | (c) and to attain
the wisdom of
a great mirror
(capable of
complete re-
flection) |
| 4. The Elixir Merit
(che-mchog-yon-tan-gyi-lha) | (a) with an altar
symbolized by
a dark brown
triangle | (b) to abolish
ignorance | (c) and to attain
the wisdom of
realizing the
true nature of
all phenom-
ena |
| 5. The Diamond Pike
Deed
(phur-pa-phrin-las-lha) | (a) with an altar
symbolized by
a dark blue
triangle | (b) to abolish
jealousy | (c) and to attain
the wisdom of
accomplish-
ment |
| 6. The Demon-sending
Lord
(ma-mo-rbod-gtoñ-lha) | (a) with an altar
symbolized by
the bloody sea | (b) to abolish
any untoward
accident | (c) and to accom-
plish prayer
and propitia-
tion |
| 7. The Violent-curse
Lord
(dmod-pa-drag-sñags-lha) | (a) with an altar
symbolized by
violent fire
from the navel | (b) to do away
with all evils
and demons | (c) and to accom-
plish prayer
and propitia-
tion |
| 8. The Lord-worshipped-
by-the-world
(hñig-rten-mchod-bstod-lha) | (a) with an altar
symbolized by
the secret
cemetery | (b) to do away
with all evils
and demons | (c) and to accom-
plish prayer
and propitia-
tion |

The first five belong to other-worldliness, the last three to worldliness. Except for the Horse-headed Lord, all are manifestations of Mañjuśrī, the embodiment of Wisdom itself. In the Rñin-ma pantheon, it may be marked, the Elixir Merit is the chief image of the eight, in fact of the nine, with the addition in the group of the Wisdom-holding Teacher (rig-ñdzin-slob-dpon-lha), whose altar is symbolized by the "sea of misery" and whose function

is to remove five poisonous appearances and embody the five kinds of wisdom.

The image of the Elixir Merit has twenty-one heads in seven storeys, each storey with three heads. The number twenty-one indicates the twenty-one stages on the path of perfection,¹ exoteric and esoteric, and the number seven the seven members of the Bodhisat road.² The faces are of different colours, red indicating warm-heartedness; white, purity; blue, constancy; green, the four virtues of serenity, fierceness, growth, and power; yellow, completeness in all merits; and mixed colours, the comprehensive nature of all phenomena.

The forty-two arms signify so many serene modes, each hand holding an image of serene type. There are two wings on the shoulders, the left signifying expediency and the right wisdom; like a god and his consort. There are eight legs, each foot treading on one heavenly king and one dragon. The eight legs symbolize eight roads to salvation, while the eight heavenly kings symbolize the eight senses; and the eight dragons the eight states of mind. A consort embraces him, whose name *Gtum-mo-dug-hrul-nag-mo* indicates that she is the destroyer of the three arch-enemies, Greediness, Anger, and Ignorance.

Returning to Methodology, there is a distinction between what has been transmitted from the direct word of mouth of the masters from India (*bkaḥ-ma*) and what is handed down from the discovery of the buried texts (*gter-ma*). As different masters have different emphases and different treatments, there arose two main schools, the *Bkaḥ-ma*, *Zur-lugs*, and *Roṅ-lugs*. The noted masters of the *Zur-lugs* were *Zur-po-che* (954-?), *Zur-chuṅ-pa* (1014-1074), and *Sgro-phug-pa* (1074-1134). The *Roṅ-lugs* originated with *Roṅ-zom-chen-po-chos-kyi-bzañ-po*, contemporaneous with the Emperor *Jen-tsung* of the Sung Dynasty (1023-1063).

The buried texts or "treasures" began to be excavated during the reign of *Kao-tsung* (1127-1162) by *Ñi-ma-hod-zer* of *Ñañ* (1124-?), to be followed by further excavations by *Gu-ru Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug* between the reigns of *Ning-tsung* (1195-1124) and *Li-tsung*

¹ In the Great Yoga system there are thirteen esoteric stages on the path of perfection. But in Anu-Yoga there are twenty-one stages, and in Ati-Yoga or the Great Perfection School there are sixteen.

² The seven members of the Bodhisat road are: mindful, discerning, devotional, happy, ease, meditative, detached.

(1225-1264). The results of these two people are called "upper and lower treasures" (gter-kha-goñ-hog). Thereafter quite a number of minor "excavators" became known, until all these were edited together by Ratna Glin-pa (contemporaneous with Emperor Hsiao-Tsung of the Ming Dynasty, 1488-1505) with his own enormous excavations to be known as "the southern treasures" (lho-gter). During the reign of Shih-Tsung (1522-1566), again, there arose out of a ruling family in the north a master, Rig-hdsin-rgod-kyi-lde-mhphyul-can, who also made many excavations and edited what is known as "the northern treasures" (byañ-gter). During the reign of Shen-Tsung (1573-1619) Bkra-ḡis-stobs-rgyal founded the monastery Rdo-rje-brag to expound "the northern treasures", and between the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties another monastery, Smin-grol-glin, was founded by Hgyur-med-rdo-rje to expound "the southern treasures". With these two seats of learning two schools became definitely established. But they are not exclusively concerned with the "treasures". They also teach what has been handed down from Indian masters (bkah-ma).

The second class of teaching of the three internally esoteric is the "assembled", equivalent to Anu-Yoga. The chief treatises of this class are *The Universal Assembled Knowledge* (kun-hḡus-rig-pa) and *The Assembled Mystic Cogitation* (dgoñs-pa-hḡus-pa). Identification or union with the tutelaries is emphasized. This is made possible by primarily using one's own arteries and the *semen virile* for the purpose of a perfect union, so that there arise happiness, light, and thoughtlessness. There are both teachings inherited from Indian masters and what is contained in the discovered "treasures".

The third class deals with the "mind" alone, equivalent to Ati-Yoga. It dispenses with images and the internal energies, characteristic of the above two classes of teaching, but is concerned with the realization of the true nature of the mind. The Ch'an School of Chinese Buddhism (or the Zen Buddhism of Japan) is similar in this respect. But what is unique with the Rñin-ma-pa is their method of attainment called "the surpassing of the uppermost" (thod-rgyal), whereby self-illumination is maintained so that the material body may vanish in the rainbow or in the manner of the colours of the rainbow, as a way of salvation or emancipation. Both treatises and discovered treasures are their sources of teaching. And this teaching is again divided into three sub-classes.

The first sub-class concerns the mind (sems-sde), how to realize the true nature of self and the world without being deceived by phenomenal illusions. The principal treatises of this class are *The Garuda Bird in the Air* (khyuñ-chen-lđiñ-pa), *The Universal-perfection King* (kun-byed-rgyal-po), and *The Great Perfection* (rdzogs-pa-chen-po).

The second sub-class is the soaring into mystic perfection (kloñ-sde). After the realization mentioned above, all shackles and prejudices fall away, so that whatever is reflected in the mind is illumination and light. The mind is entirely free. There is the teaching of the Diamond Bridge (rdo-rje-zam-pa) and the principal treatise is *The Effortless* (bya-rtsoł-med-pa).

The third sub-class is deep instruction (man-ñag-gi-sde). When the mind is entirely free there is Enlightenment. So the body may vanish in the rainbow. The teaching of this class embodies the Four Essences (sñiñ-thig-ya-bzhi) and the principal treatises include *The Supreme Power of the Lotus* (padma-dbañ-rgyal), *Buddha-Equanimity* (sañs-rgyas-mñam-sbyor), and *Sound-responding Perfection* (sgra-thal-hgyur).

(3) *Important Seats of Learning*.—The most important seats of learning still functioning are Smin-grol-gliñ and Rdo-rje-brag, of Tibet, and Ka-thog, Dpal-yul, Rdzogs-chen, and Zhi-chen, of Sikang (Kham). Of the four in Sikang the first three are the most important, comparable in reputation with the three monasteries of the Yellow Sect, the Established Church of Tibet, namely Se-ra, Hbras-spuñ and Dgañ-ldan, founded in 1417, 1414, 1407. Here I set them forth in historical sequence together with others less important but of historical significance.

Bsam-yas (Sam-yas) was the first monastery established in Tibet (762-6), during the reign of King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. Such original masters as Padma-hbyuñ-gnas and Śānta-rakshita (Zhi-ba-ñtsho) propounded Buddhism there, and the first translation as a system of esoteric Buddhism was also there established.

Mchims-phu of Bsam-yas was founded during the reign of the same king. The most noted persons in the Rñiñ-ma genealogy during the three stages (first, middle, and last) of transmission—Gñags-dzānana-kumāra (contemporaneous with Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan), Gñubs-sañs-rgyas-ye-ces (after 827), Zur-po-che-ça-kya-hbyuñ-gnas (954-?)—used this as their seat of teaching. Even the three masters of the Zur-lugs mentioned above spent some time here to propagate

the doctrine. But they became originators of two other monasteries.

Hug-pa-luñ was founded by Zur-po-che (çakya- hbyuñ-gnas), who was succeeded by Zur-chuñ-pa (çes-rab-grags-pa) and Zur-çakya-hbyuñ-gnas), who was succeeded by Zur-chuñ-pa (çes-rab-grags-pa) and Zur-çakya-señ-ge. The last founded another monastery, Sgro-phug, and later became known as Sgro-phug-pa.

Ka-thog of Greater Derge, Sikang, was founded by Bka-hdam-pa-bde-ggegs (1122-?),¹ younger brother of Phag-mo-grub-pa of the White Sect (bkañ-brgyud), during the reign of Kao-Tsung of the Sung Dynasty (1127-1162). He was a second-generation disciple of Sgro-phug-pa. Having assimilated much of the buried treasures, he belonged to the same school which later characterized Smin-grol-gliñ by being an exponent of "the southern treasures". But the founder of Ka-thog was not confined exclusively to the treasures. He also transmitted his heritage of the Indian masters, the treasures playing a more important rôle. There are about 550 monks in the monastery of Ka-thog, headed by a Grand Lama Dri-med-zhiñ-skyuñ.

Thar-pa-gliñ, of Bhutan, was founded by Dri-med-hod-zer (1308-1363) when he travelled in that country. From there the Red Sect or Rñiñ-ma-pa spread to Nepal.

Rdo-rje-brag, the seat of learning for "the northern treasures" in Tibet, had its beginning in an assembly called E-wam-chos-sgar, organized by Bkra-çis-stobs-rgyal, a chieftain in Northern Tibet who had lost his power and travelled in Ü. The monastery was formally established by Padma-hphrin-las, an incarnation of Bkra-çis-stobs-rgyal's son, Ñag-gi-dbañ-phyug. Dalai V (1617-1682), the Lama Pope of the Yellow Sect, had a great admiration for this monastery. It was destroyed in 1683 by the invasion of the Jungar, but soon restored.

Smin-grol-gliñ, the seat of learning for "the southern treasures" in Tibet, was founded in the last years of the Ming Dynasty (1628-1643) by Hgyur-med-rdo-rje and Ñag-dbañ-chos-dpal, who were succeeded by Darma-çri. In a similar way to Rdo-rje-brag, it was destroyed and restored about the same time.

¹ This is based on the notes supplied by Karma Bçad-sgrub-chos-kyi-señ-ge, Grand Lama of the new monastery of Mi-ñag-gañs-dkar, Sikang. According to a history of the Rñiñ-ma-pa by Hjigs-med-gliñ-pa (1729-1798), published by the printing establishment at Derge, the founder is Spobs-pa-mthañ-yas, son of Phag-mo-grub-pa's wife's brother.

Rdzogs-chen (great perfection), of Derge, Sikang, was founded in 1685 by Padma-rig-hdzin (1625-1697), who came from the west of the Golden Sand River in 1684 at the request of Nāg-dbañ-bkra-ḡis, chief of the ruling family at Derge. It is now the most famous monastery of its kind, not only in Sikang, and attracts students from all places, including Bhutan and Nepal. The congregation is more than five hundred, and the Grand Lama an incarnation of the founder.

Dpal-yul, of Greater Derge, was founded about the same time as Rdzogs-chen by Rig-hdzin-kun-bzañ-ḡes-rab. And, as in Rdzogs-chen, its lineage follows Smin-grol-glin, seat of "the southern treasures". There are about six hundred monks, headed by Karma-yañ-srid.

Zhi-chen, not far from Rdzogs-chen, branched out from it about 1746 or later. Its founder was Zhi-chen-rab-hbyams-pa. There are about one hundred monks, but their relationship with Rdzogs-chen seems very strained.

(4) *Academic Organization*.—Leaving the monasteries of Tibet aside, of those in Sikang only Ka-thog, Dpal-yul, and Rdzogs-chen have academic colleges, called Grwa sa, for the purpose of open discussion. Formerly such monasteries were exclusively concerned with esoteric teaching which was characterized by personal attainment, not by formal communication. Especially because of their essential doctrine of Great Perfection (rdzogs-chen)—similar to the Ch'an Tsung mentioned above—emphasis was laid on intuitive insight rather than on communicable knowledge. But such a practice is good only for the most gifted. So far as ordinary talents are concerned, these must be doctrinally prepared before they become capable of direct comprehension. More than a century ago Rdzogs-chen monastery established an academic college called *ḡrih-señ-ba-slob-grwa*, on the initiative of Dge-maṅ-gzhan-phan-mthaḡ-yas, for the formal teaching of exoteric as well as esoteric Buddhism. The Great College (slob-chen) was later added to the Assembly Hall, on the model of the three famous colleges or monasteries of the Yellow Sect in Tibet, namely Se-ra, Hbras-spuñ, and Dgaḡ-ldan. The subject taught consists of translation of Buddha's word and the commentaries of his Indian disciples, only supplemented by the explanations of the masters of the Rñiñ-ma-pa.

About 1890 Si-tu-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho also instituted a teaching college at Ka-thog. First established was the Treatise School (rgyud-sde-khañ). Although the name implies Tantraism or esoteric

Buddhism, the School is not exclusively so limited. Rather this name was adopted because of so many esoteric images in the hall. In fact the School is divided into two colleges, the Teaching College (bçad-grwa) and the Training College (sgrub-grwa). The former gives formal instruction in the *doctrines* of exoteric as well as esoteric Buddhism. When the students become versed in these doctrines they are prepared to enter into the *practical training* of the latter in pure esoteric accomplishment such as "empowering, genealogical transmission, and tutelage" (dbañ-luñ-khrid-gsum). This institution was further developed under the leadership of Kun-bzañ-dpal, who was O-rgyan-btsan-hdzin-nor-bu's pupil. Besides these colleges an Ordinance College (sgrig-grwa) was established for the ordinary monks, who cared for neither philosophical discussion nor personal attainments, but had to qualify in the performance of rituals and a knowledge of monastic discipline.

In the early twenties of the present century the Grand Lama, Mgon-bsam, of Dpal-yul, established three academic colleges at his own seat of learning on the pattern of the last two monasteries.

The Grand Lama (bstan-bdag), or Living Buddha (sprul-sku), of each monastery is academically the President; under him there are college deans or professors (mkhan-po) in charge of philosophical discussion, practical guidance, and religious performance. There are also lecturers (slob-dpon) to collaborate in tutorial work.

The number of students differs in each monastery, being dependent upon the amount and source of support, such as overall and partial scholarships offered by the monastery, contributions to the monastery for religious performance, alms collected, and private support from each student's family. Rdzogs-chen, for instance, offers thirty overall scholarships, equally divided among the students of Teaching and Training Colleges, out of a fund donated by the king of Bhutan in terms of sixty pack animals' load of Indian silk. Each of these scholarships is in kind, amounting to two bales of barley (140 catties) and some thirty catties of butter.

As a rule, however, in all three monasteries there are about forty to fifty students in a Teaching College and more than ten in a Training College. In the Training College of Rdzogs-chen in particular there are thirteen fully ordained monks known as "the thirteen pure ones" (mtshañs-pa-bcu-gsum).

Attendance is required for five years at the Teaching College, six at the Training College, and for an indeterminate period at the

Ordinance College. But the number of years may always be prolonged at the wish of a student who wants to be more thoroughly grounded. For example, a dullard may be in the Teaching College for more than ten years.¹

A boy of six or seven may be sent to the monastery to study with a tutor (dge-rgan) first the Tibetan alphabet (ka, kha, ga, ña, etc.), secondly spelling, and thirdly sentence formation. He is called Ka-kha-pa or a beginner (grwa-chuñ). Then he will study with a lecturer or professor the necessary formulas in religious chanting in praise. Not until he is sixteen is his hair shaven and he himself called a novice-to-be (dge-tshul-gsar-pa). When about twenty years old he is formally initiated into thirty-six vows and called a novice (dge-tshul or in Sanskrit śrāmaṇera) or a regular student (grwa-pa). From this time on he may attend the Teaching College as auditor. His regular attendance is counted only after he is fully ordained to be a monk (dge-sloñ or in Sanskrit Bhikṣu) by taking two hundred and fifty-three vows, when called a "student of the Teaching College" (bslab-grwa-pa). As soon as his regular attendance is counted, he will be examined (rgyugs-len) on any chapter of religious works explained by his teacher. When he is advanced far enough by many such examinations, after a period of time he is called a Student-assistant (skyur-dpon), and will help guide the studies of his fellow-students. After the final examination he graduates from the Teaching College. Should he prove to be the best of all, he is entitled to Rab-hbyams-pa, a degree equivalent to the Ph.D., and receives three gifts, namely a sceptre (Indra's thunderbolt or in Tibetan rdo-rje), a rdo-rje bell, and a suit of monastic garments. The few next best are given gifts of less importance accordingly until gradually the ordinary graduates are named without gifts. Those who fail in the final examination are punished by being tied up to the flag-post before the chanting hall to be publicly humiliated.

A graduate of the Teaching College is qualified to enter the Training College to become a "student of the Training College"

¹ In a regular college of arts of the Yellow Sect, which corresponds to the Teaching College of the Rñiñ-ma-pa, attendance is required at least for fifteen years and one may end his life in the first few grades without hope of ever graduating; for open discussion and communicable knowledge are much more emphasized in such a college of the Yellow Sect than in its counterpart of the old sect, even though the latter tries to adapt itself to the practice of the former, as pointed out above. It is personal attainment rather than communicable knowledge that is considered important by the Rñiñ-ma-pa.

(sgrub-grwa-pa). When such a one distinguishes himself in different degrees, the titles of "the self-perfecting lama" (sgrub-pa-bla-ma) and "the perfection-instructing lama" (sgrub-dpon-bla-ma) may be acquired. The former indicates self-training; the latter the training of others. After graduation from these two colleges one is entitled to the rank of a professor (mkhan-po), being distinguished both academically and spiritually. Then he may either stay in the monastery to instruct students or become an abbot of some small monastery under the jurisdiction of the mother monastery.

Take Rdzogs-chen as an actual case to illustrate the peculiar position of such a professor. Once thus qualified a monk forgoes for life the privilege of begging for alms, while the "living Buddhas" and other monks are free to do so. Furthermore, the monastery institutes a system of lineal religious genealogy as well as choosing leaders irrespective of origin. In other words, it is an academic combination of the principles of procreation and adoption. There are four academic units, for which professors are chosen from those who have gained the confidence of the congregation by knowledge and personality. They are not necessarily graduates from the colleges of their own monastery. There are also three units, two exoteric (the University College so to speak and the college endowed with full scholarships) and one esoteric (an assembly on the snow mountain), whose professors must be the lineal descendants of the Rñin-ma-pa. Adherents of all sects of esoteric Buddhism come here to study. But any one of any sect of exoteric Buddhism may come to challenge the inmates of Rdzogs-chen to public debates. As a rule those who wish to do so may announce their theses and register with the monastery authorities so that they will be given the floor in turn to propound them and to engage others in debate.

(5) *Programme of Study*.—In the Teaching College are studied the words of Buddha and the commentaries of both the esoteric and exoteric schools, the latter first. There are thirteen works belonging to exoteric Buddhism in the curriculum of study :—

1. *On the Attainment of One's Own Liberation* (so-sor-thar-pa).
2. *The Fundamentals of Monastic Laws* (hdul-rtsa).
3. *Vasubandhu Abhidharma-kośa* (mñon-mdsod).
4. *Collection of Abridged Texts of the Abhidharma* (kun-las-btus-pa).
5. *Fundamentals of the Mean* (dbu-maḥi-rtsa-ba).
6. *On the Entrance to the Mean* (dbu-ma-hjug-pa).

7. *A Treatise on Wisdom in 400 Verses* (bzhi-brgya-pa).
8. *On the Entrance to the Bodhisat Practice* (spyod-hjug).
9. *On Abhisama-ya Comprehension* (mñon-rtogs-brgyan).
10. *On the Distinction between the Mean and Extremes* (dbu-mthah-rnam-hbyed).
11. *On the Nature of Things in Themselves* (chos-ñid-rnam-hbyed).
12. *The Most Supreme Tantrism* (rgyud-bla-ma).
13. *On the Great Vehicle* (theg-chen-brgyan).

These may be divided into four classes ; monastic laws, studies of the Lesser Vehicle, those of the Great Vehicle on the *nature* of things (dbu-ma) and on the *appearance* of things. Apart from the monastic laws, the three may be further divided into theory and conduct. In practice the thirteen works may be thoroughly studied or some may not be so studied. To take an actual example from Ka-thog, the following order of study may be noted :—

1. On the Entrance to the Bodhisat Practice (spyod-hjug).
2. Sentence Construction in Verse (tshig-lehu-bcad-pa).
3. Clear Exposition of the Three Kinds of Monastic Laws by Mñah-ris-paṇ-chen (sdom-gsum-rnam-ñes).
4. The Five Works of Maitreya (Byams-chos-sde-lña) with commentaries.
5. The Fundamentals of Monastic Laws (hdul-rtsa).
6. Fundamentals of the Mean (dbu-maḥi-rtsa-ba).
7. On the Entrance to the Mean (dbu-ma-hjug-pa).
8. A Treatise on Wisdom in 400 Verses (bzhi-brgya-pa).
9. Collection of Treatises on the Point of View of the Mean.

Following translations of original Indian works, the students are further guided by the expositions of Tibetan scholars of the Rñiñ-ma-pa.

So far as Rdzogs-chen is concerned, there are three months each year devoted to the lecturing on the thirteen works mentioned above. The audience come with a moderately high understanding, although the number of students is indeterminate. In addition the following are included : *The Gist of the Esoteric* (gsaṇ-ba-sñiñ-po) and the works by Dri-med-hod-zer (1308–1363) and Mkhyen-brtse-hod-zer (contemporaneous with Ch'ien Lung of the Ch'ing Dynasty, who reigned from 1736 to 1795), such as *The Essentials of Merit* (yon-tan-mdzod) and *The Wish-fulfilling Treasures* (yid-bzhin-mdzod).

After instruction in the works on exoteric Buddhism are taught those on esoteric Buddhism in the Teaching College. First such

main works as the *Great Tantric Treasures* (gsaṅ-sñiṅ) and the *Transforming Tantras* (sgyu-hphrul) are explained in accordance with the commentaries of the Zur School (zur-lugs), which constitute the common understanding with other sects (mthun-moṅ-pa). Secondly, they are explained in accordance with the commentaries of the Roṅ School (roṅ-lugs) not shared by other sects (mthun-moṅ-ma-yin-pa). Thirdly, they are explained again in accordance with the commentaries by Klon-chen-rab-hbyams-pa (another name for Dri-med-hod-zer) with collateral readings in *The Seven Treasures* (mdzod-bdun), *The Three Rounds of Relaxation* (ñal-gso-skor-gsum) and *The Three Ways of Salvation* (raṅ-grol-skor-gsum), known as what is absolutely not shared with other sects (gin-tu-mthun-moṅ-ma-yin-pa).

As soon as a student clearly understands such esoteric and exoteric works he is qualified to enter the Training College, where he must attend for six years. For the first three years he is taught initiation ceremonies (dbaṅ), injunctions (luṅ), and tutelary instructions (khrid), as a basis for later self-development, which, as a rule, takes three more years. Hence the saying, "One stays three years in the open and again three years in the dark." For private religious practice takes place in dark cells.

The order of practice is first the mental creation of the images of the tutelaries in terms of reciting formulas and meditating on visions thus aroused; secondly, the physical-mental control of the arteries, *semen virile*, etc.; and thirdly, the realization of the true nature of one's own mind.

For the practice of the first two, one relies upon "the three foundations" (rtsa-ba-gsum), namely one's own master (bla-ma), the Tutelary deity (yi-dam), and the goddess of wisdom (mkhaḥ-hgro-ma or in Sanskrit Dākīnī). One must be versed in meditating on them and in reciting formulas to them.

For the practice of the last one the student relies upon "the word of instruction" (khrid-yig). This is divided into two categories. First the preamble (sñon-hgro), and second the thing itself (dños-gzhi). The preamble usually consists of Dpal-sprul's *Injunctions of Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po*, which is similar to Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *The Graded Course on the Bodhisat Road*, and may be taught before one is initiated into esoteric Buddhism. Instruction is given differently to different students. Nowadays it is usually based on *The Comprehensive Supreme Wisdom*.

When a student graduates from the Training College, he is qualified to be a professor if he wishes. But, if he aspire to further self-development, he may travel around to visit more advanced masters for more enlightened guidance.

(6) *Business Organization*.—Both academic and business organization are ultimately under the central control of the Grand Lama (bstan-bdag) of the monastery, who is always a Living Buddha (sprul-sku), although there may be quite a number of Living Buddhas in one monastery who do not have administrative duties. So far as the business organization of a monastery is concerned, there are two aspects: the religious and the administrative.

The religious aspect of monastic business organization is under the direction of the Grand Lama, the professors (mkhan-po) and the chief priest (rdo-rje-slob-dpon). It is this priest who presides over religious ceremonies. He must qualify not only in personal attainments but in learning and personality. Under him there are a number of leaders in chanting (dbu-mdzad), some attendants for the offerings (mchod-dpon), and one disciplinarian (chos-khrims). The last is not only present at religious ceremonies, there is one in each of the different colleges to enforce proper conduct by the monks. Apart from the main chanting hall in a monastery there are special quarters for the worship of the Protectors of Religion. And there are monks particularly assigned to take care of such temples.

The administration of monastic business is in charge of the Grand Lama and one regent (dgon-dpon). The regent's duties are shared by a committee of elders (rgan-pa), under whom there are a number of assistant messengers. There is one treasurer (phyag-mdzod) directly under the Grand Lama to take care of his private property and of the monastery's public property. Under the treasurer are a steward (gñer-pa) and some twenty accountants (spyi-pa or spyi-gso) for the actual management of all properties, either by investment in trade or by loans to laymen on interest. The profit or interest thus incurred is to be used for expenditure on the repair of the monastery, the making of images, the cutting of wooden blocks for the printing of the scriptures, the subsidising of students, and on religious ceremonies, relief, medicine, and the disposal of the dead. The source of income is from livestock, trade, land rent, and contributions from believers.

All these offices are filled by monks appointed by the Grand Lama.

The term of office is either three years, four years, or five years. It is not fixed. For the appointment is really based on a nomination resulting from public votes of the inmates of the monastery. Officers may be re-elected, so that they may be appointed again and again to serve the congregation.

The officers do not serve only individually. As a rule there are standing committees for particular functions, and all these may have joint meetings to deliberate on issues of public concern. Thus the business organization has the combined features of democracy and dictatorship. Furthermore, to safeguard the welfare of the monastery against external troubles some important personage such as a chieftain is usually invited to serve as a patron or the lay "protector of religion".

(7) *Public Festivities* are part of the monastic religious ceremonies. But those performed daily within the monastery are not of interest to the public. Those performed on a larger scale and often in costumes are occasions to attract crowds of lay folk. They not only serve a religious purpose but provide recreation for the order and for the people. Often they are of such seasonal importance that a great deal of trade and other economic activities centre round them. The dates of these public festivities may differ in different monasteries, but approximately are as follows:—

On the first day of the first moon the New Year (lo-gsar) is celebrated at a Great Prayer meeting.

On the eighteenth and nineteenth of the first moon there is a preliminary Sacred Dance of the Diamond Pike (Phur-pa) called the "Lesser Pike" (Phur-chun). On the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth the formal performance to represent the deity takes place and is called the "Greater Pike" (Phur-chen). In some monasteries the Diamond Pike is not presented. But instead the "one hundred most supreme serene and angry tutelaries" of the Great Yoga mentioned in Section 2 are staged. It is only the great monasteries that are well enough equipped to do this on such a scale.

On the twenty-second of the second moon the dance of worship (sgrub-mchod) takes place to personify the Eighty Methodological Tutelaries (§ 2 *supra*).

In the third moon the rite of offering to the mountain and river gods (bswa-yul) is observed to pray for the peace and welfare of the country.

From the first to the fifteenth of the fourth moon is the period

of silent fasting (smyuñ-gnas) to worship the Eleven-headed Avalokita. For monks in training there is an initiation ritual after this period.

On the tenth of the sixth or seventh moon there is the Tenth Day Observance (tshes-bcu) to personify in Sacred Dance the eight manifestations of the Lotus-born or Padma-hbyuñ-gnas (gu-ru-mtshan-brgyad). For it is said that the Master desired to come on every tenth of each moon to this world for the benefit of sentient beings. So his followers in Tibet have instituted the Tenth Day Observance. Theoretically any tenth day will do. But it is considered especially important to observe it on the particular tenth of the moon in the year in which it happens that the three (day, moon, year) are designated simultaneously by the monkey of the twelve animal symbols.¹ Thus while every tenth of each moon is religiously commemorated, it is on the particular tenth of a particular year that such a Sacred Dance is performed.

On the eighteenth and nineteenth of the ninth moon the demon-suppression ceremony (līṅga-sgral) is observed. All the enemies of Buddhism are supposed to be spiritually imprisoned in the figures made of barley meal mixed with butter (gtor-ma). These figures are mutilated in the Sacred Dance to simulate the destruction of enemies.² This feature may accompany any other annual Sacred Dances, when it is called "the cutting of barley-meal figures" (gtor-ma-brgyag).

On the fourteenth and fifteenth of the eleventh moon a ceremony is observed to celebrate the winter solstice (ñi-log).

The twenty-ninth day of the twelfth moon is the occasion to make offerings to commemorate the end of the month and the end of the year (lo-zad-zla-zad-dgu-gtor). The idea is that with such a happy ending of the season the deities are to be praised and sentient beings are to be given gifts. So, for self-interest as well as altruism, prayers are made for peace and blessing.

(8) *Remarks in Conclusion.*—Denominational differences are ordinarily stressed by the less informed, according to the observation of learned lamas, for whom they are only so many means of

¹ The order is : mouse, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, chicken, dog, and pig. Days, months, and years are marked consecutively by these symbols in combination with ten other symbols, forming cycles of 60.

² This is the ordinary or crude interpretation. More sophisticated interpretation is offered by learned lamas. The figures are the materialistic symbolization of inner enemies such as anger, greed, and ignorance.

suiting the different levels of student aspirants. As heritage and culture are not identical for all, there is no one method to induce everyone to develop a full personality. To give everybody a chance different methods and viewpoints are offered in Buddhism. But the fundamental purpose is always eventual salvation. It is common knowledge that Hīnayāna, or the Lesser Vehicle, is the means to effect individual salvation, while Mahāyāna, or the Great Vehicle, makes it possible for the individual to help others to save themselves.

It is less obvious in the case of esoteric and exoteric teachings. Why esoteric ? Because those who are not prepared are most likely unable to understand it and liable to abuse it. Jesus remarked that to the public He used figurative speech, but to His disciples He spoke the truth. This is not only true with every religion, but also with everyday practice of the discreet, who speak in accordance with the understanding of the audience. But in Tibetan Buddhism, which represents the later development of Buddhism in India, there are so many monstrous images, especially those in sexual embrace, that all sorts of misunderstandings are the result. These images, say conscientious students, are survivals of primitive worship of sex. In any religion we can trace many symbols of phallic worship and so on. So, too, it may be said that the Christian practice of expressing thanks to the Lord before every meal is a survival of primitive culture, when human control over nature was too limited to ensure an adequate supply of food. But this historical attribution does not explain the function of Christian prayer in modern life. So also, however true may be the anthropomorphic interpretations of esoteric Buddhism, they do not help us to understand the mental processes of lamas who practise it to-day.

According to the learned lamas exoteric Buddhism is a way of renunciation, in which wisdom is acquired by knowing the evils and impermanence of the phenomenal world. It is an effort to lift oneself up in spite of the material bondage to which one is subjected by being born in a material body. Esoteric Buddhism, no matter whether or not originating from primitive conditions, is theoretically more advanced than exoteric Buddhism because whatever is given is taken for granted, and effort is made to utilize the given as a means for intellectual insight and spiritual development. Thus the lifting-up process is no longer in spite of the material body, but rather because of it. Theorists of the esoteric school ridicule the exoteric idealists by comparing the renunciation of the latter to

searching for the shadow while what brings it about is denied existence. Once the dichotomy between body and mind is assumed there is no end of trouble. It makes no difference whether the body or the mind is given preponderant importance. If "suchness" of whatever is is the starting-point, it is as real as natural to view everything impartially without prejudice and misconception. When one is free from prejudice and misconception, one is Freedom itself. This is what salvation or emancipation or eternity means. According to a passage in one esoteric text, we are told : " Good fellows, basically whatever is is. Suchness, including yourself, is not intrinsically entangled, why should you try to disentangle yourself ? It is not intrinsically deluded, why should you seek truth apart from it ? " In another passage it is said, " Behaviour without understanding is blind. Understanding without practice is shallow. When both are one, you have self-control." This self-control is, of course, not repression but liberation. No lazy people may enjoy it. It is the result of right endeavour or realism in thought and action.

The idea of gaining control through adjustment to the given by means of proper understanding and practice is generally known as the scientific attitude. But in the realm of phenomena concerning man, either individually or socially, the attitude lags behind in the process of becoming scientific. We are only beginning to see that society cannot be changed by individuals who denounce it. Those who want to develop it to a higher level must take society at its true value and participate in its activities instead of passing judgments and standing aloof from it. In this respect the esoteric teaching of Buddhism takes a similar stand with regard to the world and the self. Again, we are only beginning in psycho-analysis to fathom potential energy deep within ourselves. But one thing is clear already. There is no use in repression, and it is possible to redirect our energies through sublimation. Traditional moral philosophy and general exoteric Buddhism may end in repression, while esoteric Buddhism dares to stare at reality and consciously works for sublimation, if necessary.

Returning to the monstrous images again, the idea is to call up within oneself whatever there is by meditating on them. For example, the angry expression of the images calls to mind anger within. So also with lust, greed, ignorance, jealousy, and so on. Taking these for granted, one may try to put them in their proper place. This means a well-rounded personality. Then in the last

stage the images become unnecessary, and whatever there is within the body may be freely directed. When this self-direction becomes spontaneous it is self-caused, free from causation or the wheel of life : in other words it is Nirvāṇa here and now.

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Hebrew Studies

By G. R. DRIVER

THE purpose of this article is to collect a number of examples of two or three Hebrew constructions which seem hitherto to have been incorrectly explained or missed and to see if a satisfactory explanation can be found of any or all of them.

I. In Ugaritic poetry, when a pronominal suffix is attached to one noun, its force may be carried through to the parallel noun, which may then dispense with the corresponding suffix.

In such cases the suffix may be attached to the first noun alone, as in—

bnh . . . *šrš* "his son . . . (his) scion" (2 D. i, 26)

šršk . . . *r'eš* "thy root . . . (thy) head" (1 D. iii, 53-4)

šrh . . . *ql* "her song . . . (her) voice" (4 AB. iii, 25-7)

lbh . . . *kbd* "her heart . . . (her) liver" (5 AB. i 26);

or to the second noun alone, as in—

rgm . . . *hwth* " (his) speech . . . his word" (3 AB. a6; 1 D. iii, 35-6)

bhmr "with (his) wine" . . . *bmskh* "with his mead" (5 AB. i 16-7)

bt . . . *hklh* " (his) house . . . his temple" (2 D. i, 26-7)

p'n . . . *gh* " (his) foot . . . his voice" (2 D. ii, 11-12)

r'eš . . . *qdqdy* " (my) head . . . my pate" (2 D. vi, 36)

ksl . . . *pnh* " (her) loin . . . her face" (2 AB. ii, 17-18; 5 AB. iii, 48-9).

mlk . . . *drkth* " (his) kingdom . . . his dominion" (2 K. vi, 37-8, 52-3).

There appears to be a number of instances also of this idiom, hitherto unrecognized, in Hebrew poetry.

Here again the suffix may be attached only to the first noun, as in—

אמר . . . חסדו "his loyalty . . . (his) word" (Ps. lxxvii, 9)

כבוד . . . ישעו "his salvation . . . (his) glory" (Ps. lxxxv, 10)

עדרים . . . צאנך "thy flock" . . . " (thy) herds" (Prov. xxvii 23);

or only to the second noun, as in—

רדפם . . . דוחה “driving (them) on . . . pursuing them” (Ps. xxxv, 5-6)

אמונתך . . . חסד “(thy) loyalty” . . . “thy faithfulness” (Ps. lxxxix, 3)

אכלם . . . טרף “(their) prey” . . . “their food” (Ps. civ, 21).

An extension of this idiom may be recognized in such passages as—

אך אמרת באזני וקול מלין אשמע

“surely thou didst speak in my ears

and I heard the voice of (thy) words” (Jb. xxx, 8)

לכן יכיר מעבדיהם והפך לילה וידכאו

“therefore he taketh knowledge of their works

and turneth (them) upside down, that they are destroyed”

(Jb. xxxiv, 25);

and

יֶחֱזֶק עָלָיו צָמִים (for יֶחֱזֶק) יֶחֱזֶק פֶּה

“a gin shall take hold of (his) heel,

snare shall lay hold on him” (Jb. xviii, 9)

למען יזמרך (כבוד) בְּבֶר . . . יהוה אלהי לעולם אודך

“that (my) liver¹ may sing psalms unto thee . . .

O Lord my God, I will confess thee for ever” (Ps. xxx, 13).

The examples of this idiom are too frequent to allow them to be dismissed as copyist's errors, if only because the Ugaritic texts are singularly free from mistakes, and the only possible explanation of it is that the sense of the pronoun must be carried through from the noun that has it to the parallel noun that is without it. That the ancient Vss. of the O.T. do not recognize this rule but provide both of two such parallel nouns with the pronominal suffix² is no proof that both suffixes may have stood in the original text; for the idiom of the languages in which they are written will not have tolerated what is to Western eyes so intolerable an ellipsis.

II. The rules of the agreement between subject and attribute or predicate in the Hebrew language are generally well known, but there are certain apparent exceptions which have not received the attention that they deserve or have not yet been satisfactorily explained.

¹ See p. 175, n. 2.

² Cf. Lam. iii. 66 (Sept. . Targ.)

1. There is a well-known construction in the Semitic languages whereby the verb, when it precedes the subject, is not made to agree with it but stands in its simplest form¹, the singular masculine third person, as in—

יְהִי בִרְכַּת יְהוָה בְּכָל־אֲשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל

“and the blessing of the Lord was upon all that he had”

(Gen. xxxix, 5).

This construction, in which **יְהִי** serves as a mere copula, though similar in external form, is different from that in which it is the substantive verb, as in—

יְהִי נֹאֲרָת “let there be lights” (Gen. i, 14),

where it predicates coming into being or existence. The verb is treated as invariable in both these constructions because the gender and number of the subject, not having yet been mentioned, are in a manner of speaking still unknown.

An extension of this last idiom is found with the substantive verb, whereby **הָיָה** or **יְהִי**, as the case may be, remains uninflected even though the noun expressing that of which the existence is predicated precedes it, as in—

וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בָּאָה וְעֹלָמָה הָיָה

“and the sun was setting, and there was darkness” (Gen. xv, 17)

חֻקָּה אֶחָת יִהְיֶה לָכֶם וּלְזֹרֵךְ

“there shall be one law for you and for the sojourner” (Numb. ix, 14)

בְּנֵי בֵית הָיָה לִי

“there were home-born (slaves) belong to me” (Eccl. ii, 7)

שְׁתֵּי כְתֹפֶת חִבְרַת יִהְיֶה לוֹ

“there shall be two shoulder-pieces joined (attached) to it”

(Exod. xxviii, 7).

In this construction the predicative term is normally indefinite (cf. Exod. xii, 49 xxviii, 32 Numb. xv, 29 Deut. xviii, 2 xxv, 13-15 Ezek. xlv, 10-11 2 Chron. xvii, 13), but it is apparently also occasionally determined by the definite article, as in—

אַרְבַּע הִידוֹת יִהְיֶה לָכֶם

¹ The verb is not affected by a predicate that precedes it (Lev. xxiv, 5 Is. xxiv, 12); s. p. 167.

“and there shall be the (other) four parts for you” (Gen. xlvii, 24); here, however, the verb may be construed with the numeral **ארבע** which is singular in form though plural in sense.¹

The rule by which the copulative verb by attraction agrees occasionally with the predicate instead of the subject, as in—

נקדים יהיה שכרך

“speckled ones shall be thy wage” (Gen. xxxi, 8)

and in—

בסר נמל יהיה נצה

“the flower becomes a ripening grape” (Is. xviii, 5), is different but does not call for discussion, as it is well known (cf. Lev. xxv, 32, 33).²

2. The agreement in gender between subject and predicate may be disregarded if anything intervenes between them.

The intervening factor may be an independent clause,³ as in—

שתי טבעת זהב תעשה לו מתחת לזרו . . . והיה לבתים לברים

“thou shalt make two golden rings for it under the crown thereof . . . and they shall be for places for staves”

(Exod. xxx, 4);

or a relative clause, as in—

האבן הזאת אשר שמתי מצבה יהיה בית אלהים

“this stone, which I have set up (as) a pillar, shall be God’s house” (Gen. xxviii, 22);

or the relative particle, as in—

המנחה אשר יעשה מאלה

the meal-offering that is made of these things” (Lev. ii, 8);

or the copula, as in—

מה-שאלתך וינתן לך

“what is thy petition, that it may be granted unto thee?” (Esth. v, 6);

¹ In the same way feminine nouns are occasionally treated as masculine if they are such in form, as in **תהום אמר** “the deep said” (Jb. xxviii, 14), unless this ought to be changed to **תהום אמרה** to accord with the usual rule of Semitic grammar (see p. 175); cf. **עשת** (Ct. v, 14). ² S. p. 166, n. 1.

³ In the case of **נפש** the explanation may be that the masc. replaces the fem. gender *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, as in **סלת יהיה קרבנו . . . מנחה** **נפש כי תקריב קרבן מנחה** **ויצק עליה שמי** (Lev. ii, 1; cf. v, 1 xx, 6).

or a prepositional phrase, as in—

דעת לנפשך ינעם

“knowledge shall be pleasant to thy soul” (Prov. ii, 10),

דעת לנבון נקל

“knowledge is easy to an understanding man” (Prov. xiv, 6),

רוח מלפני יעטף

“the spirit ¹ would fail before me” (Is. lvii, 16),

זעקה בנוים נשמע

“a cry is heard among the nations” (Jer. l, 46);

or the object, as in—

זרעו שבלים יקצר

“his arm harvests the ears” ² (Is. xvii, 4),

זרעי עמים ישפטו

“mine arms shall judge the peoples” ² (Is. li, 5);

or a noun in the genitive case, as in—

חרדת אדם יתן מוקש

“a man’s fear brings a snare” (Prov. xxix, 25),

רוח איש יכלכל מחלתו

“a man’s spirit ¹ will sustain his infirmity” (Prov. xviii, 14),

לשון שקר ישנא דבוי

“a lying tongue ² hates acquittal” ³ (Prov. xxvi, 28),

כנף הכרוב האחר

“the other wing of the cherub” ⁴ (2 Chr. iii, 11);

¹ See p. 170.

² See p. 174.

³ No sense can be made of the M.T.’s **דבוי** “its (?) crushed ones”. As then the parallel **מרה** “ruin” suggests an abstract noun, with which the LXX’s **ἀλγῆα** agrees, I tentatively propose **דבוי** “declaring innocent, acquittal”. Such a form does not actually occur but is legitimately derived from the Aram. **דְּבִי** = Hebr. **זָכָה** “purged, declared innocent” (Dalman), while the form with **ר** instead of **י** will be due to Aramaic influence; possibly indeed **זְכָרִי** ought to be restored in the text, although the whole proverb may well be of Aramaic origin. There is, however, some evidence that **דָּכָה** may have crept into the Hebrew language beside the correct **זָכָה** by the time of the LXX; for they twice mis-translate **דָּכָה** “crushed” as **דָּכָה** = **זָכָה** “was pure, purified” (Is. liii, 10 Jer. xlv, 10). So Syr. **נָכַן** and **נָכַן** and Hebr. **נָדַר** and **נֹדַר** exist side by side. However this may be, the sense of the proverb seems to be that a false accuser or slanderer hates to see his victim cleared while a flatterer brings about the ruin of anyone whom he praises.

⁴ Beside **הַכְּנֶפֶת הָאַחֶרֶת** (ibid., 11, 12).

or a pronominal suffix, as in—

אֲחֵרִיתָךְ יִשְׁגָּה מֵאֵד

“thy latter end shall greatly increase”¹ (Jb. viii, 7);

or a conjunction, as in—

לְשׁוֹנִי אִם־יִהְיֶה רִמְיָה

“surely my tongue shall not murmur deceit” (Jb. xxvii, 4)²;

or the negative particle, as in—

מִזְרָה לֹא־יֵעָלֶה עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ

“a razor shall not come up on his head” (Jud. xiii, 5),

בְּלֹא־דַעַת נֶפֶשׁ לֹא־טוֹב

“a witless soul is not good” (Prov. xix, 2),

אֵשׁ לֹא־נִפְחָה

“an unfanned fire” (Jb. xx, 26, *si vera lectio*).

Naturally several of these factors may operate simultaneously, as in—

קֶשֶׁת יִהְיוּנָתָן לֹא נִשְׁגָּה אַחֲרָיו

“the bow of Jonathan was not turned back” (2 Sam. i, 22),

צִפְחַת הַשֶּׁמֶן לֹא חָסַר

“the cruise of oil did not fail” (1 Ki. xvii, 16),

קִרְבַּת אֱלֹהִים לִי־טוֹב

“drawing nigh unto God is good for me” (Ps. lxxiii, 28).

Further, the first predicate may agree with the subject and subsequent predicates may not agree with it, as in—

רוּחַ גְּדוּלָה בָּאָה מֵעֵבֶר הַמִּדְבָּר וַיִּגַע בְּאַרְבַּע פְּנוֹת הַבַּיִת

“and a great wind came from across the desert and smote the four corners of the house” (Jb. i, 19),

when **בָּאָה** is in immediate contact with the subject and therefore agrees with it, while **וַיִּגַע** is separated from it and is left in the simplest, i.e. the masculine, form.³

¹ Not **אֲחֵרֵיהֶם עֲקִשִּׁים** (Prov. ii, 15), since the fem. plur. form comes from a masc. sing., not fem., form.

² Not in Jb. xxxvi, 18, where **הִקָּה** seems to be an error for **הִמָּה** (Budde).

³ The explanation of **הַקִּים . . . רַפְּאִים . . . עוֹרֵר לָךְ . . . שְׁאוֹל מִתַּחַת רִמְזָה לָךְ . . . מִכְסְּאוֹתָם כָּל מַלְכֵי גּוֹיִם** “Sheol beneath is astir for thee . . ., rousing the dead for thee . . . (and) raising up all the kings of the nations from their thrones” (Is. xiv, 9) is not so easy, since the first predicate agrees with the noun, though separated from it, while only the second and third predicates do not agree with it. The construction may perhaps be analogous to that in **רוּחַ גְּדוּלָה וְחֹזֶק** (see p. 170) or **מִתַּחַת הַקִּים** may be an error of vocalization for **הַקִּים** (Bickell); alternatively **מִתַּחַת**

NOTE ON רוּחַ 'WIND, SPIRIT'

One or other of these rules gets rid of all except eight of the passages in which רוּחַ "wind, spirit" seems to be masculine. Either the verb precedes the noun (*passim*) or the noun is not in immediate contact with the predicate (Exod. x, 13, 19 2 Sam. xxiii, 2 I Ki. xviii, 12 xix, 11 xxii, 21 2 Ki. ii 16 Is. lvii, 16 Jer. iv, 12 Ezek. xix, 12 xxvii, 26 Hos. iv, 12 Ps. li, 12 Prov. xviii, 14 Jb. iv, 15 xx, 3 xli, 8 Lam. iv, 20). The remaining passages are mistranslated (s. p. 175, n. 1). These are רוּחַ מְשַׁחֵת "a spirit of destruction" (Jer. li, 1), רוּחַ צַח שְׁפִיחַ "a wind of scorching heat of (= from) the dunes" (Jer. iv, 11, where צַח is a noun), רוּחַ אֶחָד לְכָל "a spirit of one (kind) is in all" (Ecc. iii, 19), רוּחַ כְּבִיר אִמְרֵי-פִיךָ "the breath of one that is mighty are the words of thy mouth" (Jb. viii, 2), . . . רוּחַ מָלֵא "a wind shall come full (= in full force) . . . for me" (Jer. iv, 12, where מָלֵא is an adverb; cf. Jer. xii, 6 Nah. i, 10), רוּחַ הוֹלֵךְ וְלֹא יָשׁוּב "going like the wind and not returning" (Ps. lxxviii, 39, where רוּחַ is in the acc. case; cf. Mic. ii, 11 Hab. i, 11), and (Luzzatto with Hebr. MSS.) כִּי-רֹחַ "for with His mouth He commanded and with His spirit He gathered them" (Is. xxxiv, 16, when פִּינֵהוּ and רוּחוֹ are in the acc. case indicating the organ; s.p. 174 n. 3). If these translations are accepted, only מֵאֵת יְהוָה וְרוּחַ נֹסֵעַ (Numb. xi, 31) is left, and here נֹסֵעַ may be corrected to נָסוּעַ (cf. Ezek. i 14, for the subject before the verb) or מֵאֵת יְהוָה וְרוּחַ may be read (for the *linea* suggests textual uncertainty; cf. Ezek. vii, 27).

Again, a masculine pronominal suffix occasionally resumes a feminine noun after an interval, as in—

וְשָׁמְרוּ אֶת־מִשְׁמַרְתִּי וְלֹא־יִשְׂאוּ עָלָיו הָטָא

"and they shall keep my charge and not bear guilt for it"

(Lev. xxii, 9)

וַיִּקַּח חֲנַנְיָה הַנָּבִיא אֶת־הַמֹּוֹטָה . . . וַיִּשְׁבְּרֶהָ

"and Hananiah the prophet took the yoke . . . and broke it"

(Jer. xxviii, 10, cf. x, 2);

but most of the instances of this class are easily emended.¹

¹ So אַרְבַּעָה אֹפְנֵי נַחֲשֶׁת לְמַכּוֹנָהּ פִּידוּ in . . . וְפִידָהּ עַל (1 Ki. v, 30-1).

Occasionally the intervening word is itself of the feminine gender, as in—

קלל כעין נחשת קלל “like the sparkle of burnished copper” (Ezek. i, 7) and in

קנות בינה נבחר מכסף

“getting understanding is rather to be chosen than silver”

(Prov. xvi, 16);

but in the first passage **קלל** may be a noun, when the phrase will mean “like the sparkle of the bronze of a boss”,¹ and in the second passage **קנות בינה** ought perhaps to be altered to **קנו תבונה** or **קנה**, as the parallel **קנה חכמה**, which ought probably to be read **קנה חכמה** (Stade), suggests.²

There appears to be one example of this disregard of congruence where the subject is a dual noun and the predicate a singular instead of a plural verb, namely—

ארץ ממנה יצא־לחם ותחתיה נשפך כמור־אש

“(as for) the earth, bread cometh out of it and its under parts are turned up as (by) fire” (Jb. xxviii, 5);

if this is the right explanation of the forms of **תחת** and similar words before pronominal suffixes.³

The same disregard of congruence is seen in the case of plural constructions under identical conditions, as in—

זבח רשעים תועבה אף־כי בזמה יביאנו

“the sacrifice of wicked men is an abomination; how much more when he brings it with evil intent?” (Prov. xxi, 27)

עיני גבהות אדם שפל

“the lofty looks of man are brought low” (Is. ii, 11)

מאנוי מרמה לא־טוב

“a false balance is not good” (Prov. xx, 23)

אכליו עונו ישא

“the eaters thereof shall bear his iniquity” (Lev. xix, 8)

מחלליה מות יומת

“the profaners thereof shall surely be put to death” (Exod. xxxi, 14)

¹ Driver in *Bibl.*, xix, 20; cf. Jer. xx, 9, where **עצר** goes not with **כאש** בלבי but with **בעצמתי** and must be vocalized **עֶצֶר** “burning heat” (Driver in *JQR.*, N.S., xxviii, 114–15).

² The misreading is perhaps due to a recollection of **קנה חכמה קנה בינה** (Prov. iv, 5).

³ Driver in *JTS.*, xxxiv, 377–8, and *ZDMG.*, xci, 346; cf. Barth, *ibid.*, xlii,

צדיקים ככפיר יבטח

"righteous men are confident as the young lion" (Prov. xxviii, 2)

שנאי בצע יאריך ימים

"the haters of unjust gain shall live long" (Prov. xxviii, 16)

שדמות חשבון אמלל

"the fields of Heshbon languish" (Is. xvi, 8)

שדמות לא עשה חיל

"the fields yield no fruit" (Hab. iii, 17)

רחמי רשע אכזרי

"the bowels of a wicked man are cruel" (Prov. xii, 10).¹

There are also several passages in which a plural participle with a pronominal suffix takes a predicate in the singular number, as in—

ארריך ארור ומברכך ברוך

"they that curse thee are accursed
and they that bless thee are blessed"

(Gen. xxvii, 29; cf. Numb. xxiv, 9)

בל-אכליו יכרת

"all that eat of it shall be cut off" (Lev. xvii, 14)

אהביה יאכל פריה

"they that love her shall eat her fruit" (Prov. xviii, 21)

צפניה צפן רוח

"they that would keep her keep the wind" (Prov. xxvii, 16)

ננשו מעולל

"its creditors are spiteful" (Is. iii, 12)

תמכיה מאשר

"they that grasp her are made happy" (Prov. iii, 18).

The construction here is commonly explained as based on a distributive use of the singular number²; but, as it differs in no material respect from that in **אחריתך ישנה מאד** (Jb. viii, 7), a common explanation must be sought for both constructions.

¹ There is no reason to suppose that **אכזרי** is indeclinable; for in the only other passage where a plural form may be thought necessary the predicate precedes the subject and may therefore naturally not be declined (Jer. i, 42).

² As though **ארריך ארור** means "thy cursers (each) is accursed" (see Kautzsch-Cowley, *Hebr. Gr.*, §145l).

The lapse of congruence here discussed can be illustrated from sporadic instances in the late cognate languages. Such are the Mandaic¹

hāsābtā mīnneh 'ātā lān "a thought came to us from him",
kōl nīšmātā dnāpā . . . nīstān "all the souls that came forth . . .
 found dwelling places",

hwō lē sāhdā "be ye a witness for me",
 and the Ethiopic²

'eḏawa za-yefarī "trees which bear fruit";

but the instances seem to be too few or too diverse to serve as the basis of a general rule.³ They suggest, however, that the Hebrew examples reflect a genuine usage and are not mere textual errors.

The ancient Vss. usually imply a predicate or attribute agreeing with the subject, but they cannot be cited as supporting emendation; for the languages at any rate of the LXX and the Vulgate do not tolerate such grammatical vagaries.

One possible explanation of this apparent grammatical anomaly is that the predicate agrees with the real or implied subject, e.g. that **איש** is the real subject with which **יכלכל** agrees in **רוח** **איש יכלכל מחלה** (Prov. xviii, 14); but there are so many instances where there is no suitable or available word to supply such a subject, e.g. in **מורה לא-יעלה על-ראשו** (Jud. xiii, 5), that such an explanation must be regarded as untenable. Alternatively, that the predicate or attribute agrees with the word with which it comes into immediate contact, as in **רחמי רשע אכזרי** (Prov. xii, 10) and **לשון זהב אחד** (Josh. vii, 21), is an equally untenable explanation; for, while it will account for the gender of **אכזרי** and **אחד** in these instances, there are many where it is impossible, e.g. in **נשמע בגוים זעקה** (Jer. i, 46) and **רוח גדולה וחזק** (1 Ki. xix, 11). There is only one factor common to all the passages here collected, that several words or even a single word intervenes between subject and predicate or attribute so that they cease to be in immediate contact with one another; the sole plausible explanation then is that in such an event the rule of congruence may be relaxed.

¹ Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, 418-19, 422.

² Dillmann-Crichton, *Eth. Gr.*, 500-1.

³ Assyrian examples, such as *šittum riḥāt ništ elišu imqut* "sleep that is poured on men fell upon him" (Thompson, *Gilgamesh*, 37, iii/iv, 70) must not be cited (Brockelmann, *GVGS*, ii, § 103a), since *imqut* for *tamqut* may be due to Babylonian influence.

Obviously some of the instances here quoted may be otherwise explained. Thus **אש** and **לשון** and **רוח** may occasionally have been treated *secundum formam* as masculine nouns,¹ and **טוב** may be not the adjective "good", but the substantive "good thing" (cf. Gen. xlix, 15); the masculine verb in **זרעי עמים ישפטו** (Is. li, 5) may be due to the well-known dislike of the plural feminine forms,² and **שבליים יקצר זרעו** (Is. xvii, 4) may be translated "with his arm he harvests the ears".³ In such cases the construction is ambiguous.

The exceptions to this rule are so few that the text may be suspected; so **לפתח חמאת רבין** "sin crouches at the door" (Gen. iv, 7) may be an error for **לפתח חמאת תרבין** (Dillmann with Vulg.'s *aderit*) by haplography or for **חמאת לפתח רבין** by erroneous transposition of words, which is exceedingly common, being due to the desire to introduce a word, accidentally omitted, into the text without making an erasure.

A similar idiom may be detected in the case of a noun and an adjective in an attributive position, as in—

לשון זהב אחד

"one wedge of gold" (Josh. vii, 21),

רוח גדולה וחזק

"a great and strong wind" (1 Ki. xix, 11),

בארץ ציה ועיף

"in a dry and weary land" (Ps. lxiii, 2),

where a noun in the genitive case or even the copula suffice to break the connection.

An instructive comparison may now be drawn between **כל-תחנה** **כל-אדם** **אשר תהיה לכל-אדם** (1 Ki. viii, 38) and **כל-תחנה** **אשר יהיה לכל-אדם** (2 Chr. vi, 29) "every supplication that is made by every man"; for it shows that the abnormal construction is late.

¹ See p. 167, n. 1. So the Fr. *mode*, which is properly masculine like the Lat. *modus*, is also feminine according to its form, though in a different sense.

² Cf. Kautzsch-Cowley, *Hebr. Gr.*, § 145*p*); cf. Jer. xlix 16, where **תפלצתך** is in the acc. case (s. 'J.Q.R.' N.S. xxviii, 125).

³ In this construction the organ is not a secondary subject in the nomin. case (Kautzsch-Cowley, § 144*l-m*), but a limitative term in the accus. case describing the organ, as the corresponding Arabic construction shows, for example, in **لَتَرَوْهَا** "ye shall surely see it with the eye of certainty" (Qur., cii, 7); cf. Acc. *erā libbašu* or *ina libbišu limuttam ikpud* "the eagle plotted evil in its heart" (Langdon, *Etana* 17₂₀ 18₁₄).

This conclusion agrees with the fact that, although a few examples can be found in pre-Exilic texts, the majority occur in the exilic or post-exilic periods. Possibly then the usage here discussed is a colloquialism that has gradually made its way into the written language and has survived there in spite of the harmonizing activities of the Massoretes.¹

Other examples may be cited, where the intervening element is the copula (Esth. v, 3 ix, 12), the negative particle (Exod. xii, 16 II Ki. xvii, 9 Is. xxviii, 25 Jer. xxiii, 10 Ezek. xxi, 32 Mal. ii, 6 Jb. vi, 10), the relative particle (Lev. xv, 15 Is. xiv, 3), a genitive noun (Exod. xxxvii, 29 Numb. xvi, 29), an adjective (Is. xxi, 2 II Chr. xvii, 13), several words or a clause (Lev. vi, 7-8 Numb. v, 9 xxxvi, 3 II Ki. xix, 30 I Chr. ii, 48 Jer. iv, 18 v, 10 xlix 16 Mic. i, 9 Zach. xiii, 7; also, *si vera lectio*, Deut. xvii, 19 Ezek. ii, 9 Jb. xxxvi, 16). The few exceptions are due to misunderstanding (Is. xvii, 1, where דמשק מוסר מעיר = "Damascus is a thing removed from being a city") or textual corruption (Ezek. vii, 27, where בוא קפרה or בוא קפרה may be read; cf. Numb. xi, 31).

The recognition of such a law as that here proposed, namely that rules of congruence may be relaxed or disregarded when noun and predicate are not in immediate contact, has several important consequences both for grammar and for textual criticism.

(i) Such passages as those set out above must not be cited to prove that normally feminine nouns may be also masculine in gender; other unequivocal evidence must be sought to establish such an abnormality.²

¹ Cf. K. שנה but Q. שנה in Prov. xxviii, 16.

² Sometimes the translation is wrong (s. p. 170) as in רוח קדים "east-wind", for "the wind of the east" (Exod. x, 13; cf. רוח הקדים in the same verse) and רוח נכון "an upright spirit" for "an upright man's spirit" (Ps. li, 12; cf. 14, 19). Sometimes the text may be at fault; thus אש להט may be an error for אש להט "flame of fire" (Ps. civ, 4; cf. Kenn.'s H. MS. 245, LXXAa, Arab. and Eth. Vss.). So, too, כבד "liver" is not proved masculine (Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebr. Lex.*, 458) by נשפך לארץ כבד "my liver is poured upon the earth" (Lam. ii, 11), since the verb precedes it; it is proved feminine by בקהלם כבד אלהתם "let not my liver be united to their assembly" (Gen. xlix, 6), since the LXX's τὰ ἡπατά μου and Assyro-Babylonian idiom, whereby kabittu "liver" and napistu "soul" are used in parallelism with reference to emotions (cf. Langdon, *BPS.*, 18-9 9 13-7), show that כבוד "my glory" is mispointed for כבד "my liver" (Dillmann, *Genesis* 459). Occasionally, too, parallel passages prove that the text is incorrect (cf. Jer. xlviii, 45 with Numb. xxi, 28, which gives the true text, and Gen. xix, 23 where the same error occurs).

(ii) The supposed need to alter the M.T. to get rid of such divergencies from grammatical norm disappears; there is no reason, for example, to emend וְעָקָה into וְעָקָה (Jer. i, 46; Rothstein with Pesh. Syrohex.), וְשָׁנָה into תְּשָׁנָה (Jb. viii, 7; Gray), וְהָקָה into תְּהָקָה (Jb. xxvii, 4; Hebr. MSS. and editions), or נָפָה into נָפָה (Jb. xx, 26; Cheyne "Psalms" [1888], 401).

(iii) A number of passages, where the scribes have tried, in ignorance of this rule, to put the text right but have only succeeded in throwing it into confusion, can now be easily corrected. Thus תַּאֲוֹת צְדִיקִים יִתֵּן may be corrected to תַּאֲוֹת צְדִיקִים יִתֵּן "the desire of the righteous is granted" (Prov. x, 24; Hitzig with Vulg., Pesh., and Targ.) and דַּאֲנָה בִּלְבַב־אִישׁ יִשְׁמָחָהּ = יִשְׁמָחָהּ = "anxiety in a man's heart depresses him"¹ (Prov. xii, 25). The verb cannot be שָׁחָה "bowed down", since anxiety does not compel a man to bow down, i.e. "to do homage (to whom?)", but must be שָׁוָה "to sink", which is twice applied to a man's soul sinking beneath a heavy burden of affliction (Ps. xlv, 26 Lam. iii, 20). Again, if הִקְפִּירָשׁ עָלָיו אֵד is corrected to הִקְפִּירָשׁ עָלָיו אֵד "behold! he spreadeth the mist about him and its roots cover the sea" (Jb. xxxvi, 30), sense is obtained and grammar satisfied. The alteration of אֵד into אֵד (Duhm w. LXX^{sa,c} and Theod.) or אֵד (cf. Targ.'s מִשְׁרָא) and of שָׁרְשָׁיו into שָׁרְשָׁיו (cf. K. אֲבָרִי for Q. אֲבָרִי, supported by the Vss. and many MSS., in Neh. iii, 30-1) involves no serious disturbance of the consonantal text; and the "roots" of the mist may easily be explained as the streamers hanging down from above like the roots of a tree going down into and trailing across the sea, of which they hide now one and now another patch from view.

These notes are written to draw attention to certain apparent anomalies of grammar or syntax in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament in the hope of seeing if rules can be discovered to explain them and so get rid of the need of emendation. I am, however, only too well aware that I may have overlooked a number of examples which may be likely to confirm or to disprove the solutions here put forward of the problems which I have raised; I should therefore be glad if interested readers who come upon other examples in the course of their study would send me references to them.

¹ So יִשְׁמָחָהּ must be corrected to יִשְׁמָחָהּ = יִשְׁמָחָהּ (Albrecht in ZATW., xvi, 81) at the end of the verse; cf. Exod. xv, 2 Deut. xxxii, 10 Jer. v, 22 Ps. lxxii, 15 and Ezek. vii, 21 for the form of the suffix.

East and West in Sabæan Inscriptions

By A. F. L. BEESTON

BESIDES the common-Semitic forms *mšrq* and *m'rb* for east and west, we find in certain Sabæan inscriptions the terms "towards Yaṭīl" and "towards Qatabân" employed. Rhodokanakis¹ followed by Höfner² assumes the former of these terms to imply "eastwards" and the latter "westwards". The argument leading to this seems to be roughly as follows: (1) in the Minæan inscription RES 2830, 1-2, *ḏr'* is opposed to *mšbh*, and since the latter plainly means the east *ḏr'* must mean west and is to be compared with the Arabic expression *ضربت الشمس* "the sun was near setting"; (2) in the Minæan RES 2774, 5, *bn šnn ḏr'* is opposed to *bn šnn ytl*, which therefore must mean eastwards; (3) in the Sabæan CIH 570, 5, "towards Yaṭīl" is a correlative of "towards Qatabân", which therefore means westwards; (4) this is confirmed by Gl. 739, 3, where "towards Qatabân" is opposed to "towards the east" (*mšrqn*) in the parallel text RES 852.

This line of argument at first sight appears very neat. But on looking at the map, one finds that Ma'in, Yaṭīl, Mârib, and Timna' (the capital of Qatabân) lie in that order roughly along a line stretching from north-west to south-east. Rhodokanakis' assumptions therefore involve two manifest absurdities: first, that to the inhabitants of Mârib, Qatabân could have been regarded as "westward" when in fact it lies south-east of Mârib; secondly, that "towards Yaṭīl" meant the same compass-direction to the inhabitants of Mârib as it did to those of Ma'in, when in fact it lies between the two of them.

Obviously, to the people of Mârib, "towards Yaṭīl" must have meant the opposite of what it did to the Minæans. That is, assuming that the interpretations of *mšbh* and *ḏr'* are correct, "towards Yaṭīl" should have implied "eastwards" to the Minæans but

¹ *Studien zur Lexikographie u. Grammatik des Altsüdarabischen*, ii, p. 82 (Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, ph.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsber. Bd. 185.3), 1917.

² *Die Inschriften aus Glasers Tagebuch*, xi (Marib), p. 35 (Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes Bd. 45), 1938.

"westwards" to the Mâribites. And to the latter "towards Qatabân" must have implied "eastwards".

It is now necessary to see how this will affect our texts. In CIH 570 no difficulty is occasioned; "towards Qatabân and towards Yatîl" will simply be "east and west" instead of "west and east". The crux of the matter is in Gl 739 and RES 852. Here, the consequence of our reorientation is that "towards Qatabân" will have to be regarded as a synonym of "towards mšrqn" instead of its opposite. Some consideration must therefore be given to the interpretation of the rest of these texts.

Herewith are given the two texts side by side, with my suggested restoration of the first line:—

RES 852	Gl 739
1 [bny.gdnm. ... wbný.sfrn.'l] 2	1 [bny.ršwn. ... wbný.sfrn.'l]
w.y]qnywn.wbrg.mf[i'd.]nhln.mf[rn.]	w[.]yqnywn.[wbrg.mt'd.nhln.mbhryn]
[dhn.gdnm.b]t'br.qtbn.wmt'd.sfrn. 3	[dhn.ršwn.b]m'br.zlm.wmt'd.sfrn.
bn.dn.nhln.mtrn.[lyd'n.]fwtm.	bn.dn.nhln.mbhryn.lyd'n.fwtm.
msb'.mwñ.'brn.mšrqn.dt.tnš'n.mwñ. 4	msb'.mwñ.'brn.qtbn.dt.tnš'n.mwñ. 4
bn.dhbn.'byn.lsqy.mt'd.bn.gdnm.bn. 5	bn.dhbn.'byn.msqy.mt'd.bn.ršyn.bn.
dn.nhln.mtrn.d'brn.qtbn.wbn.gdnm.	dn.nhln.mbhryn.b'brn.zlm.wbn.ršyn.
f'l.s'lw.bny.sfrn.bnkl.'tmr. 6	f'l.s'lw.s'ln.bny.sfrn.bnkl.'tmr.
ttnrn.h'.fwtm.w[']md.w'lb.	ttnrn.h'.fwtm.w'md.w'lb.
ykwñn.bh.bm'br.mt'd.sfrn.d'brn. 7	ykwñn.bh.bm'br.mt'd.sfrn.d'brn.
zlm.wbnw.sfrn.w'wldhmw.f'l.ymn'w. 8	qtbn.wbnw.sfrn.w'wldhmw.f'l.ymn'w. 7
bny.gdnm.w'wldhmw.bn.hy'.lhmw.h'. 9	bny.ršwn.w'wldhmw.bn.hy'.lhmw.h'. 8
fwtm.msb'.mwñ.lsqy.mt'd.bn.gdnm.	fwtm.msb'.mwñ.lsqy.mt'd.bn.ršwn.
bn.nhln.mtrn.d'br[n.]qtbn.	bn.nhln.mbhryn.d'brn.zlm.

As regards the general character of these inscriptions, Rhodokanakis designates them "Grenzsteine",¹ Höfner² takes them as sale-contracts. Of these two possibilities, the former seems to me more likely; but there is also a third alternative, which is perhaps

¹ Op. cit., pp. 108 sqq.

² Loc. cit.

slightly better than either of these, and that is to see in them the record of a judicial decision in a dispute over water-rights, between the STRN clan on the one part and the GDNm and RŠWN clans on the other part. Gl 739 gives the result of the decision as it affects the GDNm, while RES 852 is its counterpart as it affects the RŠWN, with appropriate variations in the names. The core of the award is that while it affirms the rights of the STRN to cultivate and enjoy the fruits of their own plot of ground (*mt'd*) they are also ordered not to obstruct the water of the canal which provides the irrigation for the properties belonging to the GDNm and RŠWN. Evidently the STRN were in a position to do this, i.e. their plot lay closer to the Wadi Abyan, which was the source of the water supply, than the GDNm and RŠWN properties.

A further point is that Rhodokanakis is obliged to suppose that the expression *ʿbrn.ʒlm* implies "eastwards", and hence he takes *ʒlm* as the proper name of a place. But it is surely more attractive to take it as a term meaning "the west" and connected with Arabic ظلام "darkness".

The two inscriptions I would therefore render as follows, with my conjecture as to the beginning of the texts:—

RES 852: [Thus decreed and ordained X son of X king of Saba for
Gl 739: [Thus decreed and ordained X son of X king of Saba for

his subjects the Beni GDNm and his subjects the Beni STRN, who]
his subjects the Beni RŠWN and his subjects the Beni STRN, who]

own and possess the cultivated-plot of the palm-grove MTRN
own and possess the cultivated-plot of the palm-grove MBHRN

[which belongs to the Beni GDNm] on the eastward side and the
[which belongs to the Beni RŠWN] on the westward side and the

cultivated-plot of the STRN also forming part of this palm-grove
cultivated-plot of the STRN also forming part of this palm-grove

MTRN: that the watercourse running eastwards shall issue into a
MBHRN: that the watercourse running eastwards shall issue into a

canal which shall conduct the water from the Wadi Abyan for the
canal which shall conduct the water from the Wadi Abyan for the

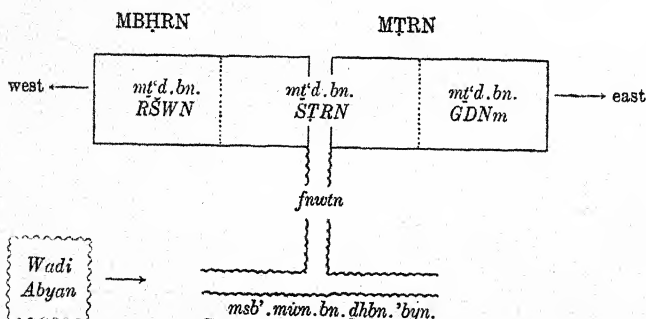
irrigation of the cultivated-plot of the Beni GDNm which forms
irrigation of the cultivated-plot of the Beni RŠYN which forms

part of this palm-grove MTRN on the eastward side; and the Beni
part of this palm-grove MBHRN on the westward side; and the Beni

GDNm shall not dispute the rights of the Beni STRN to all the crops
RŠYN shall not dispute the rights of the Beni STRN to all the crops

which this canal produces and to all the vegetable-gardens and which this canal produces and to all the vegetable-gardens and Ziziphus-spina-Christi trees which are on it (the canal) in the part Ziziphus-spina-Christi trees which are on it (the canal) in the part which is the cultivated-plot of the Beni STRN on the west ; but the which is the cultivated-plot of the Beni STRN on the east ; but the Beni STRN and their children shall not hinder the Beni GDNm and Beni STRN and their children shall not hinder the Beni RŠWN and their children from using this canal for their own benefit as the water- their children from using this canal for their own benefit as the water- course for the irrigation of the cultivated-plot of the Beni GDNm course for the irrigation of the cultivated-plot of the Beni RŠWN which forms part of this palm-grove MTRN on the eastern side. which forms part of this palm-grove MBHRN on the western side.

From the fact that both the *mt'd* of the STRN and those of the GDNm and RŠWN are said to form part of the respective palm-groves (compare *mt'd.strn.bn.dn.nhln.mtrn* at the beginning with *mt'd.bn.gdnm/ršwn.bn.nhln.mtrn/mbhrn* at the end) it seems clear that each palm-grove was divided in ownership between the STRN and each of the other two clans, with the STRN occupying the middle and controlling the canal, the GDNm property lying eastward thereof and that of the RŠWN westward. The layout consequently may have been something like this :—



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Far East

RAFFLES OF SINGAPORE. By EMILY HAHN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 350.
London: Francis Aldor, 1948. 15s.

This is probably the fairest as well as the most readable life of Raffles that has appeared. The author, unlike most English writers, has used Dutch authorities, but was unable to consult certain original sources for Raffles' conduct in Java. For which reason alone this is not likely to be the last word on the founder of Singapore. The book is written in a discursive style that admits much fascinating material like Lord Minto's description of a ball at Batavia (p. 138) and of ladies at the Canova-like business of "laving their charms" (p. 144), or the account of how the Batavian Society was endowed with a house and garden and "a white Papuan" (p. 146). But discursiveness blurs the outline of the complex events that preceded and followed the grabbing of Singapore. Incidentally, it is unfair to term Raffles' puppet Sultan "wily" (p. 289), when he had more reason to fear the Dutch than to trust the English. A chapter on slavery is longer than the biography warrants and omits to note that it was not a European innovation but a Malay custom of immemorial antiquity. Mardyker (p. 148) = *merdeheka*, the Sanskrit for "free". There are a few minor slips. "Several generations" (p. 283) is an under-statement for 450 years. And Raffles could hardly have criticized Hastings for using the scientific though not the official spelling of Johor *alias* Johore (p. 278). In another edition "Bugginese" should be altered to "Bugis" and "Lingen" to "Lingga".

R. O. WINSTEDT.

THE CHINESE IN MALAYA. By VICTOR PURCELL. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvi + 327, with 6 maps. Oxford University Press, 1948. 18s.

In this interesting book, which promises to be a standard authority, Dr. Purcell surveys Chinese activities in Malaya from the earliest contacts to the present day. After describing the doings of the immigrants in Malacca, Penang, Singapore, and the Malay States

down to 1900, he considers special aspects such as religion, Anglo-Chinese relations, and social and political problems, and passes on to the attitude of the Chinese to the war and to the new constitution. There are valuable comments on such subjects as the transformation of Chinese culture in Malaya, and the divergence between Chinese and English opinion on matters such as opium-smoking.

Some of the conclusions are likely to be questioned, and there is a sprinkling of errors, that would have been avoided, had the author consulted Pelliot (*T'oung Pao*, xxxiv, 356-393) and Duyvendak on early contacts with Malacca, and Braddell and Withers Payne on the law of the Straits Settlements. Chêng Ho was not an admiral nor did he visit Malacca in 1408 or Pahang in 1412. Fei Hsin was a soldier. Ma Huan's book was published in 1451. The law of the Straits Settlements was English law modified where necessary by native custom, not the reverse. Registration of marriage (p. 149) was made compulsory in China in 1934, and the consent of parents or guardians is needed up to the end of the twentieth year.

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THE MALAYS: A CULTURAL HISTORY. By R. O. WINSTEDT.

8½ × 5½, pp. 162, Kelly & Walsh, Singapore, 1947.

The complexities of the political situation in Malaya, with its large communities of immigrant Chinese and Indians, is apt to blind one to the fact that the *cultural* background of the Malays themselves is no less complex and that an understanding of it is essential to an appreciation of Malayan problems. In this excellent book the leading authority on Malaya gives a lucid and well-balanced exposition of the subject, a work indispensable to all those concerned with the country and equally welcome to the scholar for its precision and wealth of comparative material.

After summarizing the present state of knowledge on Malayan anthropology, pre- and proto-history, and early religious influences, the author deals skilfully, in chapters based on his own researches, with the social, political, and legal systems of the Malays. In so doing he shows clearly how their institutions, while overlaid with Islam, still preserve many Hindu and primitive usages. Of particular interest is his tracing of the contrast between the usual Malay patrilineal institutions of Hindu origin and the milder matriarchy

of the Minangkabau settlers in Negri Sembilan, whose primitive democracy may have a bearing on Malaya's future development.

In later chapters the author deals on original lines with the Malay economic system and problems, and he fairly appraises the effects of British rule. In a valuable chapter on Malay literature, a subject with which the author's scholarly reputation is perhaps most closely linked, the extent to which the Hindu and Islamic classics still dominate the Malay mind is fully demonstrated. Finally there is set out for the first time the modern theories on the development of Malay arts and crafts. A useful bibliography is appended.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

BAMBOO, LOTUS, AND PALM. By E. D. EDWARDS. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 377.
London: W. Hodge and Co., Ltd.

Half a guinea is cheap for this well printed and charmingly illustrated Anthology on the Far East, South-East Asia, and the Pacific. Professor Edwards has gleaned her interesting extracts from some hundred and forty books, many of them out of print and rare. She seems to have missed few, but for the Malayan region one might have expected extracts from d'Albuquerque and Barbosa, Conrad and Tomlinson, Vaughan's *The Adventures of Five Englishmen from Pulo Condors*, Mrs. Bird's *Golden Chersonese*, and Sir George Maxwell's *In Malay Forests*. The anthologist has stuck to the books of those who have known Asia, or she might for liveliness have cited Dr. Johnson's amusing and ill-informed views on China, Landor on his china tea-service, Coleridge's *Kubla Khan*, de Quincey's description of a Chinese as "an antediluvian man renewed". There is an admirable index to subject-matter, and another of proper names.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

CHINESE FAMILY AND SOCIETY. By OLGA LANG. 9×6 , pp. i-xvii, 1-395. Yale University Press, 1946.

This study was inspired by the work of the Institute of Social Research (Columbia University) on family problems in Europe and America. The result is a mine of information, but for the general reader it would have been kinder to relegate all tables to the appendix and to reduce the number of detailed case-histories

The writer has been journalist, research worker, teacher, lecturer, and librarian. The impression given by her book is that the material was collected by the research worker and put together by the journalist, not necessarily a bad thing, so long as the journalist is not allowed as here to become impressionistic about details which are the responsibility of his more scientific collaborator.

In a book based on statistics the reviewer expects accuracy, and when a casual reference to the index leads to the discovery of unnumbered discrepancies between it and the text, want of consistency in the spelling of Chinese names, and other minor inaccuracies, he is apt to become suspicious. To do so here would be unfair, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the book was hurriedly completed. Professor Karl Wittfogel claims for Miss Lang "an intensive study of the Chinese language both written and spoken", which makes less excusable errors and inaccurate transcriptions, and makes the reviewer regret the more that it was not thought necessary to include an Index of Proper Names and a Bibliography in Chinese characters.

The number of errors is too large to be indicated in detail. The author has not been well served by her index-maker (all the books named on p. 364 are either incorrectly paged in the index or are omitted from it), who, presumably, knew no Chinese. Chinese names are transcribed in more than one way (e.g. Lin Yutang up to p. 228 and in the index, but Lin Yu-tang elsewhere; Liang Ch'i-ch'ao on pp. 62 and 310 and Liang Ch'i Chao on p. 364). Titles of books in English are quoted inaccurately (e.g. *The Inconsistencies* (*sic*, for *Inconstancy*) of *Madam Chuang* [p. 373]), while some Chinese ones receive no better treatment (e.g. *Shang yü* [p. 369] for *Shêng yü kuang hsün*, the last two words being essential as the "amplifications" are specifically mentioned). Not a few titles which appear in the notes are omitted from the index, and the habit of abbreviating titles (e.g. *Liao chai* for *Liao chai chih i, passim*) is not a happy one in a serious study and is misleading to readers who do not know Chinese.

The material was collected immediately before the upheaval caused in China by the war with Japan, and should therefore prove to be of exceptional value in future for purposes of comparison and the measurement of progress.

E. EDWARDS.

India

INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES. By GEORG MORGENSTIERNE.
Vol. III, 2. The Pashai Language. Texts and Translations.
 $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxxviii + 304. Oslo: Instituttet for Sammen-
lignende Kulturforskning, 1944. (H. Aschenhoug Co.)

This is a further important addition to the long list of publications which have resulted from Professor Morgenstierne's fruitful "linguistic missions" to Afghanistan and North-West India. Ever the wonder grows how in the time available he could amass such a quantity of highly detailed information about so many languages on both sides of the Frontier from the Pamirs in the north to Baluchistan in the south. He bids fair before long to floodlight the whole of a hitherto unevenly illuminated field of research.

Pashai is described as "the north-westernmost outpost of the Indo-Aryan group of languages". Its geographical range extends from the Kunar Valley on the east, across the various tributaries of the Kabul River, to the Panjshir Valley in the north-west. It is "split up into a large number of mutually incomprehensible dialects". These dialects are, however, "characterized by a number of special features," which make it necessary to regard them as constituting "a linguistic unity". Pashai in all its forms is fairly highly inflected and possesses a somewhat elaborate system of tenses.

This volume consists in the main of texts and translations. Most of the texts are in the Laurowānī dialect, but there are specimens of five other dialects, and a few sentences illustrating yet others. Abdul Rashid, Morgenstierne's Pashai mentor, hailed from Laurowān; two or three pages devoted to him in the Introduction are among the most entertaining of the book.

In the absence of Vol. III, Part I, which is to contain the Grammar and Vocabulary, interest centres on the subject-matter of the texts, and to folklorists the "Comparative Notes on Pashai Folktales" contributed by Dr. R. Th. Christiansen will be an attraction. The Pashai folktales contain many well-known "international" motifs, these are often arranged, however, in original combinations, and there are departures from orthodox practice, as in the eventual punishment of the rogue, which Dr. Christiansen considers as evidence of the Pashai-speakers' mental independence. He notes

affinity with Indian folktales. It would be interesting to make a more localized study of the tales to find out how far they are known to the other peoples of the Indian Frontier area, and how far, if at all, the Pashai special combinations and variants are current among them.

Despite the lack of Grammar and Vocabulary, the linguistic enthusiast need not be deterred from commencing the study of the language. "Skeleton Grammars" of three dialects are provided, and with the help of these, the pretty literal translations, and the notes often containing glosses in Kābuli Persian, it is possible to analyse the forms and deduce the meanings of many of the words of the texts.

P. 118.11. *čärm'āy p'ae šira kake* "he cocked (his gun)". The footnote explains the phrase as meaning literally: "Put the walnut (:cock) on the foot (:butt?), sc. of the gun." *Primâ facie* this seems improbable. I should take *čärm'āy* to be a miswriting or variant of *čāmāx*, representing Tk. *čāqmāq*, which appears in Khowar and Burushaski as *čamax*, and in Shina as *čamak*, with the meaning "steel" (of flint and steel). In Prs. *čaqmāq* also means "hammer or cock of gun". So probably also *čaqmaq* in Pashtu, cf. Bellew's and Raverty's "flint lock of a gun".

If Pash. *p'a(e)* means "foot", the meaning would probably be: "he put on foot, i.e. erected, raised, the dogshead". Cf. (Prs.) Urdu *barpā karnā*.

Otherwise *p'ae* could be identified with Psht. *p'āe* "cock of gun", and Khowar *pəya* "dogshead of gun", and "(later style) trigger". Kho. *thoiko pəyoaciko* "cock the gun", lit. "put back the dogshead of the gun". But what is the origin and primary meanings of this word *p'āe*, *pəya*, and what purpose does *čā(r)māy* then serve?

P. 208, n. 1. *d'idan'asāi arzam'ān*. If *arzam'ān* is taken as representing Prs. *ārzumand*, there is no difficulty about the meaning given by the Prs. paraphrase: "I am longing to see thee."

D. L. R. LORIMER.

INDO-ARYAN LOAN-WORDS IN MALAYĀLAM. By K. GODAVARMA, M.A., PH.D. (London). pp. ix, 252. Mavelikara: Ramavarma and Bros., 1946. Rs. 6, as. 8.

This book, written in 1933 as a thesis for the London University Ph.D., is now published with improvements and additions: pp. 25-31 have appeared in *BSOS*. viii, 559-562. It consists of

four parts : (1) an Introduction in which the contacts of Malayālam with Sanskrit, Middle and Neo-Indo-Aryan are discussed and the phonological results summarized ; (2) a Classification of loanwords according to their phonological developments ; (3) Suffixes used with loanwords ; and (4) an Index with a short Bibliography.

Part I is all too short. We should have welcomed a more detailed account of Malayālam speakers with their Dravidian neighbours and a broader historical background. Marathi is regarded as the chief source of Indo-Aryan loanwords, but Koṅkaṇī should have been primarily examined, a language on which Professor S. M. Katre has thrown much light in *The Formation of Koṅkaṇī*, published in 1942. The treatment of aspirates and the occasional opening of *s* to *h* in that language might have suggested new ideas. Dr. Godavarma has himself pointed out (p. 15) that Brahmans from the Konkan migrated to Cochin and Travancore to escape the Portuguese and the testimonial in van Rhee's *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, 1678, is unmistakably Koṅkaṇī.

On p. 17 (4a) not all the borrowings are from an earlier stage of Neo-Indo-Aryan. *Nāṭṭa* "nose-jewel", is surely from Mar. *nāṭha* < Pkt. *natthā* < Skt. **nastā*, while Mar. *natha* is a lw. or derived from another formation. We find *śīma* as well as *śimā* in Molesworth, corresponding to M. *śīma*. M. *divaṭṭi*, *divāḷi* are spelt with long *ī* in Guj. *divaṭṭiū*, *divāḷi* against Dalgado's *divaṭi*, *divāḷi* and Katre's *divāḷi*. In 4b it is not strictly correct to say that NIA shows consonant groups in Mar. *ujrī*, *kāṇḍā*, etc. It is preferable to transliterate these words as *ujarī*, *kāṇadā*, or as *uj(a)rī*, which is used in 4a to show the connection with *ujār*. The consonant group is used in conversation and ordinary reading, but in poetry, singing, and formal reading the vowel is pronounced. There is a distinction, therefore, between Mar. *valyāca* "of an oar", and *valayācā* "of a ring", and such variant spellings as *kalapa*, *kalpa* "doubt", can hardly both be transliterated as *kalp*. Modern roman Koṅkaṇī is very erratic on this point, unlike that of Thomas Stephens, which takes care to retain every *a*.

Part II is the most important section. The distinction between direct borrowings from Sanskrit and borrowings from Pali, Prakrit, and Neo-Indo-Aryan is well sustained, although one would prefer to substitute the words Early Middle Indian for Pali, from which it is improbable that any borrowings were made. The further subdivisions, however, into popular and learned borrowings, at least,

those made in Part I would have been retained here with advantage. It is also not clear why *accə* "axle" is derived from Skt. *akṣa* rather than Pkt. **accha* or why *accan*, a "title of respect", is referred to Pkt. *ajja* and not to the Drav. root *acca*, M. *accam*, Tam. *accu* "fear, respect", *añcu* "to fear", especially as the southern dramas of the Trivandrum series prefer *ayya* to the usual northern *ajja* for Skt. *ārya*. There must, indeed, be many lws. which have entered Malayālam through Tamil and the distinction of such words from Old Malayālam words like *akki* "fire", would have been a welcome addition. But the necessary preliminary analysis of the forms in the Rāmacaritam and the works of the Tamil school could hardly have been undertaken in a general disquisition, such as this.

Part III deals with the grammatical forms in which words are borrowed and the ways in which Malayālam acclimatizes them. This is a new treatment, likely to prove important in Dravidian philology.

Part IV, the Index is full and efficient. In fact, it often supplies information not in the text.

The author has apparently not seen Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar's *The Linguistic Influence of Sanskrit on Malayalam*, or Professor T. Burrow's important articles, particularly "Dravidian Studies, No. II", in *BSOAS*.

ALFRED MASTER.

HISTORIA DE DAMÃO. NOTAS AO LIVRO DE TODAS AS FORTALEZAS DO ESTADO DA INDIA ORIENTAL POR ANTONIO BOCARRO. Edited by A. B. DE BRAGANÇA PEREIRA. pp. 434, illustrated. Bastorá (Portuguese India); Typografia Rangel.

This book, which purports to be a history of Daman, suffers from the same defects as similar works by the editor previously reprinted from the *Arquivo Portugues Oriental* at Nova Goa. It is a hasty paste-and-scissors compilation, carelessly put together from a wide variety of sources, with no proper revision of text or proofs and no index. If it was entitled *Materials (Subsidios) for the History of Daman* this would give a better idea of its scope. There is gold in this book, but it has to be mined. The editor would do better service to scholars if he were to read, mark, learn, and, above all, digest his materials before rushing them through the press. The

sub-title is pointless, since the work has no closer relation to Bocarro than to any of the other historians whose works are freely quoted in the text.

C. R. BOXER.

SRAMANA BHAGAVAN MAHAVIRA. Vol. 2, pt. 1, containing 116 sūtras of Kalpa Sūtra. Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya. With an Introduction by Professor D. P. THAKER, M.A. 10 × 7, pp. 12 + 20 + 6 + 284. Ahmedabad : Śrī Jaina Grantha Prakāśaka Sabhā, Pānjrāpol, 1942. 7s. 6d.

SRAMANA BHAGAVAN MAHAVIRA. Vol. 4, pt. 1. Sthaviravali. Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya. 10 × 7, pp. 8 + 210. Same publishers, 1941. 5s. 6d.

KṢAMĀŚRAMA JINABHADRA GAṆĪ'S GAṆADHARAVĀDA. Along with Maladhārin Hemacandra Sūri's commentary. Edited by MUNI RATNAPRABHA VIJAYA. With translation, digest of commentary, and introduction by Professor D. P. THAKER. 10 × 7, pp. 38 + 538. Same publishers, 1942. 9s.

These three works are part of a series with a general title, and so far are due to the learning and scholarship of Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya. The first contains that portion of the *Kalpa-sūtra* attributed to Bhadrabāhu known as the *Jinacaritra*, giving the life of Mahāvīra down to his leaving the world, and is to be completed in a later volume. The text is given in devanāgarī with transliteration, translation, and long quotations from other works. It has been divided up into chapters, and the horoscope of Mahāvīra by Mr. M. J. Doshi is inserted as chapter 5. Professor Thaker has contributed an Introduction, and makes some interesting comparisons with Buddhist practices. It is unfortunate that he relies too much on Max Müller and Rhys Davids without going to the texts. He quotes the five vows of Jain ascetics, and then instead of putting beside them the ten rules of Buddhist ascetics gives the eight rules which Buddhist laymen keep on the Fast-day. This is no real comparison, but we should like to know what the corresponding rules of Jain laymen are.

This volume of the *Sthavirāvalī* contains the lives of the eleven chief disciples or gaṇadharas and four of the sthaviras, and is to be completed in a further volume. It appears to be compiled from various pattāvalīs (with the texts transliterated and translated),

and contains much information on the Canon and such subjects as the marvellous attainments (*labdhis*) of the ascetics.

The third volume discusses important problems of Jain doctrine (on the *jīva* or *ātman*, *karma*, etc.), each question being discussed with one of the disciples. The original prakrit, mostly in āryā verse, is given with a *chāyā* and transliteration and copious extracts from the commentary.

Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya's valuable and painstaking labours should do much to remove the idea that this is a dry subject or one that can be neglected in a study of Indian culture. His method forms an excellent introduction to the obscurities of Jain Prākrit.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE REDDIS OF THE BISON HILLS. By C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF. 12 × 7½, pp. xvii + 364. MacMillan and Co., 1945. Price Rs. 20.

THE PARDHAN. By SHAMRAO HIRALI. 8½ × 5½, pp. xvi + 230. Oxford University Press, 1947. Price 20s.

Numerous works have been published in the last few years on primitive tribes in Central India, the Gonds, Marias, Agarias, Reddis, and Pradhans, who so far as beliefs, organization, and conduct are concerned, have many features in common.

These two works contain much information of value to the anthropologist, though no new light is thrown on the traditional connection of Reddis with Kapus, and through them, with the Rattas.

Von Fürer-Haimendorf's handsome volume is lavishly produced with many illustrations of the types described, their tools and utensils, and habitat in Hyderabad. The author considers that the Reddis are more primitive than the Gonds or Khonds (Kois), and would connect them with the Veddas of Ceylon.

Laying stress on the survival among the Reddis of the "digging stick culture", found also in Assam, he considers Reddis to be pre-Austroasiatic. All the well-known traits, spirit worship and possession, totem cults and witchcraft, are observable in Reddis and their kindred neighbours, the Dires. As totems (*bonso*) we find the tiger, bear, cobra, goat, tortoise, and monkey (p. 329). Women dying in childbirth become dangerous *churels*, and illness is exorcised by beating. The Pradhans are the bards of the Gonds, who play on a stringed instrument (*bana* or *kingri*). Though regarded as socially

inferior, they are supported by the Gonds in return for their services. They say of themselves: "We are Gonds and Patharis (i.e. Pradhans), and when we die we are hung up together in one basket."

This work of Hirali's is supplied with an Introduction by Verrier Elwin, who from personal knowledge confirms its accuracy.

It may be regretted that details too intimate for publication, on the interplay of the sexes, escaped Dr. Elwin's blue pencil.

One section deals with the Pradhan clan divisions in detail (pp. 29 to 42). The crocodile, porcupine, teak tree, mango, and many other well-known totems are described, including a rather rare "cockroach" which was adopted because it attacked a chicken offered to the gods!

A savage custom favoured occasionally by the Pradhans is that of yoking an offending wife to a plough bullock and driving this team over several furrows (p. 49). A police official once brought the author a report that a Pradhan had begun to turn into a tiger, and inquired for the appropriate section of the Indian Penal Code on which to base a prosecution!

Much of the information on these two works will be found in the *Imperial Gazetteer* or Russell and Thurston's well-known works.

As additional and more intimate studies of social life and practices both volumes will be welcomed.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE JAIN CANONS. An administrative, economic, social, and geographical survey of ancient India based on the Jain Canons. By JAGDISH CHANDRA JAIN, M.A., Ph.D. 10 × 7½, pp. 420. Bombay: New Book Co., Ltd., 1947. Rs. 35.

Dr. Jain has made a close study of the Jain Canon and the commentaries with the aim of exhausting the social, political, economic, religious, and geographical material, and all through he has provided exact references. One important result is to bring out the difference between legend and historical data. But the author is justified in finding in legends much material for social history. It is unfortunate that he speaks of "canons" when he means single *āgamas* and not the whole Canon or body of Scripture. He has used Buddhist texts, but, as he says, a study of the parallel features of the Jain and Buddhist *sūtras* must form a separate

study. This is needed, for when we find Buddhist technical terms like *āsava*, *nibbāna*, *posaha*, *tahāgaya*, *ājīvika* all used in special senses by the Jains, it is idle to analyse the Buddhist uses without inquiring whether the Buddhists adopted the terms in an accepted doctrinal sense. Scholars, for instance, have tried to derive *tathāgata* from *tattiha-gata*, without being aware that it already exists in Jain words in the Prākṛit form *tahāgaya*. The obstacle to the pursuit of such studies is the lack of good texts. The author found that a larger number of canonical texts is either out of print or not easily accessible. Worse still, they are hardly adequately edited, and he found many passages unintelligible owing to corrupt texts. Here lies the first task for the promotion of Jain studies.

E. J. THOMAS.

LIFE OF DAYANAND SARASWATI. By HAR BILAS SARDA. Pp. 622. Ajmer, A.D. 1946.

The author is a veteran social reformer whose name became a household word in India when the Sarda Act of 1930, raising the minimum age of consent, was passed. The inspiration of that work came from Dayanand Saraswati. Mr. Sarda met him as a boy, was present at his death, followed his bier to the cremation ground, and has written this Life as a last labour of love.

The introduction deals with the personality and teaching of the Swami, and is a valuable section for consultation for those who want an Arya Samajist's interpretation of the master's teaching. Part I of the main work is a detailed chronicle of the Swami's life and activities; there follows a description of his works; Part III deals with special aspects of the Swami's teaching; and Part IV with the principal sects in India (including the Theosophists) with whom Dayanand came into collision. The work is detailed, and accuracy is attempted within the limits of the material. It is, however, descriptive rather than critical, argumentative rather than dispassionate; its function is to confirm the faithful rather than to convince the inquirer. Perhaps its chief value for the English reader lies in its revelation of the circle of ideas within which the Swami's thought revolved. Mr. Sarda lives in the same thought world, and his book is a faithful mirror. It is a study of Hinduism seeking to reform itself without the aid of Western concepts. Vedism meant for Dayanand that the Vedas were both

verbally inspired and contained the oracles of God ; they were the touchstone of all truth and the measure for the judgment of others. The Swami's great aversion was to idolatry, and his constructive proposals were cow preservation and reconversion of the lapsed. Social reform, which has bulked so largely in the activities of his followers, was a less prominent though genuine part of his programme. The book leaves an impression of scholastic pugnacity, of ascetic belligerency. The vigour, the fervour, and the intellectual limitations of the Swami's gospel all help to explain the later history of the Ayra Samaj—both the extent and depth of its influence in the north and its failure to capture the imagination of the Hindu community as a whole. The Swami lived in a pre-scientific mental world, while the modern Hindu was looking for a formula to reconcile the scientific assumptions of the West with the philosophic pre-suppositions of his own world.

PERCIVAL SPEAR.

INTRODUCTION TO TELUGU GRAMMAR. By ALFRED MASTER, C.I.E.,
M.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 31. Luzac and Co., Ltd., 1947.

Arden wrote his *Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language* on a concentric plan, so that the learner may at the outset gain a rough idea of the structure of the language. This has its advantages when the learner has ample time for study. But when he is rushed for time, as most adult learners are, he needs a fuller outline of the language than Arden provides in Part I of his manual. Such an outline is aimed at in this work, in which references to Arden's grammar are given for further study. It is a most instructive and able summary, put together with a keen critical sense of the relative importance of the facts presented for assimilation.

M. S. H. THOMPSON.

THE FRENCH IN INDIA : FIRST ESTABLISHMENT AND STRUGGLE.
By S. P. SEN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvii + 360. University of Calcutta,
1947. Rs. 7.

Although French efforts to establish dominion in India have received much attention in recent years from French writers, there has been no exclusive study of them in English since Malleson's now obsolete writings. Mr. Sen's projected series of volumes on the subject is therefore welcome. This, the first of them, tells of

the dispatch of a French fleet to carry out the grandiose scheme of Colbert, the Minister of Louis XIV, to establish the supremacy of the French East India Company. The French failed partly through internal faults of character, but also because of the inferiority of nationalized effort to the private enterprise of the Dutch and English in commercial undertakings. The reasons for their failure, the lack of team work, the readiness of the officers to accuse each other of misconduct, and to resign their posts, are clear from Mr. Sen's story. But, working principally from French sources, he has accepted the views of French authors with little discrimination. They attributed their failure to hold the town and port of St. Thomé (seized without justification from the Ruler of Goleonda) principally to the policy of the English which Mr. Sen goes so far as to call diabolical. A more careful study, such as that made in the edition of Abbé Carré's *Journal*, now being published by the Hakluyt Society under the editorship of Sir Charles Fawcett, shows that this charge has little foundation. It was an unfriendly act of the French to fortify St. Thomé, only three miles from the well-established English settlement at Madras and to have seized it from the Ruler from whom the English held Madras. This was followed by the seizure of an English ship, and the raiding of English-held territory for food supplies. All this, done on the strength of an uneasy and temporary alliance between England and France against Holland, could hardly have been welcome to the English in Madras. The English were then alone among the principal European countries trading in India in pursuing an entirely unaggressive policy. Their settlement at Madras was unfortified, its garrison minute. The Governor, Sir William Langhorne, pursued a perfectly correct neutral policy. While the French authorities, whom Mr. Sen follows, attacked him for not helping the French, the Dutch represented to the Goleonda Ministers that he was giving the French too much assistance. Mr. Sen does not mention that Langhorne had lived long in France, was able to correspond in French with the French Viceroy, and was certainly not ill-disposed towards that nation. Nor does Mr. Sen emphasize the then greatly superior strength of the Dutch, both on sea and land, to the English and French forces, if the latter could have combined. Clearly the Governor did allow considerable latitude in the supply of provisions to the French beleaguered at St. Thomé. Carré was permitted, by his own account, to live in Madras and

send supplies to St. Thomé. His principal helper in doing so was the chief Indian Agent of the English, who is described as having great influence with the Governor. Mr. Sen speaks of Carré's tact in dealing with the English, but the other French authority, Martin, whom he recognizes as more accurate than Carré, emphasizes the tactlessness of Carré who himself admits the offensiveness of the French Viceroy's letters to the Governor. Both Sir Charles Fawcett and Mr. Sen recognize Carré's tendency to exaggerate: Mr. Sen nevertheless places too much reliance on him, especially on his account of the French successes against the Goleonda troops.

In future volumes, published French memoirs require to be checked with the English official records, and with the French archives in Paris.

P. R. CADELL.

Islam

MODERN TRENDS IN ISLAM. By H. A. R. GIBB. 5½ × 9. pp. i-xii + 1-141. The University of Chicago Press and Cambridge University Press. 14s.

In these illuminating Haskell lectures Professor Gibb outlines the Foundations of Islamic Thought, contradicts the view that it has stood still, describes its constant swing between a transcendental and a pantheist conception of God, and unravels the component threads of a romantic modernism that outside India has been innocent of philosophy. He notes how the Muslim theologian unlike the Christian has omitted to restate a medieval theology in modern terms, concentrating instead on the perfection of the Kuran and the personality of Muhammad. An interesting lecture on law explains the modernist's impotence to change its provisions as to polygamy, divorce, and inheritance for want of the support of *'ijma*, the *vox populi* of Islam.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

MUSLIM THEOLOGY. By A. S. TRITTON. James G. Forlong Fund, vol. xxiii. Luzac and Co., for the Royal Asiatic Society, 1947. pp. 218.

Professor Tritton's new survey is rather a compilation of data in the sources than an organized discussion. But it is a long-standing defect in our textbooks that the exposition of Islamic theology

suffers from over-elaboration on inadequate data. This work may be open to criticism for the converse weakness, but this has its own advantages. The chapter on the early sects, for example, by the very variety and often absurdity of the views recorded demonstrates with deadly clarity the incoherence of much early theological speculation in Islam. On the other hand, the miscellaneous and sometimes very late sources drawn upon lay many of the statements open to suspicion, and only very seldom does Professor Tritton interject a query or a caution, although some of his asides are nothing if not downright.

When he comes to the established schools of theology, his materials are classified under more convenient headings, and his accounts of the Mu'tazila have the merit of being based on the available early sources more than on later and somewhat over-systematized works. But the juxtaposition of statements from different sources without comment of any kind is, to say the least, disconcerting. The effect is to turn the book into a collection of brief texts (a *matn*, as the Arabic scholars would have called it), which demand a good deal of elaboration and skilled interpretation. The same may be said of the chapter on the earlier phases of Ash'arite orthodoxy, particularly welcome though it is as a contribution to the clearing up of several obscurities. The short final chapter adds some details about the later Mu'tazilites and Ibn Hazm and covers the period from al-Ghazali to Muhammad 'Abduh (1080 to 1905) in three pages, on the ground that "the old ingredients may be combined in new ways, but there is no growth". One may dissent from this judgment, but the omission does not detract from the usefulness of the book in regard to the formative period of orthodox theology. The only other general comment which seems called for is that future studies or commentaries on this subject will surely have to take into account the growing volume of critical essays now produced by Muslim scholars in India and the East.

H. A. R. GIBB.

Art and Archæology

ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDO-CHINA. By O. R. T. JANSE.
Vol. I, pp. xl + 73, figs. 58, pls. 169. Harvard, 1947.

This sumptuously produced volume forms the first part of the full results of Dr. Janse's three expeditions (1934-9) in Northern

Indo-China, previously known only from preliminary articles. It covers the excavation of Later Han Chinese tombs mostly in the province of Thanh-hoá, including the first untouched Han tombs to be excavated under scientific control. The structure of the tombs and the arrangement of the contents are made plain by means of adequate plans and figures. The funerary deposits (ceramics, bronzes, other metal objects, beads, etc.), to be described in detail in another volume, are discussed here in general terms with line and half-tone illustrations on a lavish scale.

Of outstanding documentary interest in their bearing on the life of the Chinese settlers are the farmhouse models with furniture, utensils, etc., but there is a rather surprising absence of the figurines of persons or animals that are so frequent in China proper. Of great interest also are the Han pottery kilns, the first to be systematically excavated. Oddly enough, while referring (p. ix) to the Ming porcelain found at Kota Tinggi (not Tingit) Johore, the author omits mention of the presumed Han period pottery found there, which would have been of much greater comparative value in relation to his own finds.

For completeness Dr. Janse (pp. xxviii-xl) includes the first illustrated general study of bronzes previously found in Thanh-hoá, which may be assigned to the Huai Style of the Ch'in period of early Chinese pioneering to the southward. Although Dr. Janse's excavations of the Indonesian (Chinese influenced) Dong-S'on civilization are to be the subject of another volume, he touches upon various aspects of it (pp. xx-xxiv). Making the interesting suggestion that the Dongsonianians may have been the ancestors of the afterwards Indianized Chams, he stresses the need for further excavations in Central and South Indo-China. Indeed we may hope that Dr. Janse's researches can be regarded as marking a beginning of systematic exploration of early Chinese and Dong-S'on sites which there is good reason to believe exist in many parts of Indo-China and Indonesia.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

THE VERTICAL MAN: A STUDY IN PRIMITIVE INDIAN SCULPTURE.

By W. G. ARCHER. pp. 122, map, and 48 illustrations. Allen and Unwin. 15s.

Mr. Archer is already known for his translations of Uraon poetry. Here he gives a detailed account of the ritual and legends associated

with the mythical Ahir hero Bir Kuar, and this part of his work is an interesting and important contribution to Indian folklore. It is a pity that he has mixed it up with what can only be regarded as rather precious art criticism of extremely doubtful validity. The Ahir carves in honour of Bir Kuar stone or wooden pillars in pairs in varying local styles. Their general style suggests the influence of Rajput tradition (and the Ahirs often claim a Rajput origin), and on the other hand the phallic or quasi-phallic fertility symbols of Chota Nagpur and Assam tribes, and the cult of Bir Kuar is associated with the fertility of the cattle. They are made by peasants and have become highly conventionalized probably as a result of ignorance and isolation. The work is simple, crude, naive, because the carvers are ignorant and unskilled or are content with the merely symbolic. Mr. Archer says a great deal about "the will to vital geometry", "a system of rhythms and idioms"; he tells us that "the geometric rhythms convey an abstract exaltation, the beauty of a formal posture". This "vital geometry" he says "conveys the ideas of power with vigilance, power with kindness, and, finally, power with doom". When, however, we are told by one craftsman that carving a Bir Kuar image he "does not feel that he is doing anything different from what he is doing when he shapes a grinding-stone", we are able to appreciate this conventional sculpture for what is really something not far removed from the eyes and looped nose (looking over a wall) of contemporary "Wot! No bananas, etc." drawings. His photography is excellent.

J. H. HUTTON.

INDIA ANTIQUA. A volume of Oriental Studies presented to J. P. Vogel, C.I.E. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 329, pls. 20. Leyden: Kern Institute, 1947.

The names of admirers who have presented this handsome volume to Dr. Vogel are a sufficient guarantee of its contents. Dutch friends include, among others, F. D. K. Bosch, J. J. L. Duyvendak, and G. F. Pijper; Louise J. F. M. Pannenberg-Stutterheim has a valuable paper on the Naga temple of Panataran; the Çailendra Interregnum is discussed by F. H. van Naerssen. Articles are contributed by such eminent orientalistes as A. Foucher, G. Coedès, F. W. Thomas, Konow, Tucci and Morgenstierne. A Chinese, a Siamese, Americans and Indians are among the authors

of the forty-three papers on the archæology, art, history, linguistics and literature of India and South-East Asia. All the articles are in English or French.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

Miscellaneous

EARLY MAN. By ALAN HOUGHTON BRODRICK. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 288, pls. 21. Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 1948. 18s.

Here is a masterly summary of our present knowledge of man's physical origins, and one so well presented that the chapter on Circe's mount, for example, is as exciting as *Treasure Island*. Recent years have revealed material surpassing in importance all at the disposal of our fathers, and much of it comes from China, Java, Central Asia, Palestine and Africa. For Australasia, Indonesia and Eastern Asia (the areas within my reading) Mr. Brodrick is certainly abreast of recent research. But working from French sources he talks of the Semang of *Malacca* (p. 74) where British authorities would write *Malaya*—there are no Semang in our Malacca—and he classes Senoi or Sakai as Australoid and Veddoid, whereas apparently atop "older strata" the Indonesian (*alias* Nesiote) element predominates in these hill tribes (*vide Journal, Fed. Malay States Museums*, vol. xix, pt. 1, 1936). Warped by his interest in Indochinese tribes he makes the extraordinary slip of denying that Deutero-Malays exist on the Asiatic mainland!

R. O. WINSTEDT.

NOTES OF THE HALF-YEAR

Rangoon University

The library of Rangoon University, destroyed during the war, has received a grant of books from Oxford University. But further gifts are needed. In addition to the Twenty-four Dynastic Histories and other works in Chinese, especially on the history and topography of South-West China, the library has lost its sets of

Journals of the Burma Research Society ; Siam Society ; Royal Asiatic Societies of Great Britain, also Bengal, Malaya, West China ; Royal Anthropological Institute ; Journal Asiatique ; Indian Antiquary ; Man ; Bulletins of Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient ; London School of Oriental and African Studies ; Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm ; Census of India, esp. Burma, vols. 1901 onwards ; Linguistic Survey of India, esp. vols. i-iv ; Reports of Arch. Survey, Burma and India ; Inscriptions of Burma, six vols. 1892-1913 with Duroiselle's list 1921 ; Epigraphia Birmanica, Indica, Zeylandica ; Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam ; Pali Text Society, all publications ; Takakusu's Sino-Japanese Tripitaka.

Also needed are Watt's Dictionary of Economic Products of India ; Burkill's, of Malay Peninsula ; Burma gazetteers and settlement reports ; dictionaries and grammars of Tibeto-Chinese and Austroasiatic languages ; also Andamanese, Munda, Pali, Prakrit, Sanskrit, Singhalese ; Tripitaka in Tibetan, Cambojan, Siamese, Singhalese ; works on Western China, Tibet, Upper Assam, Further India ; MSS. in Burmese, Mon, Shan.

Gifts may be sent to : G. E. Harvey, Secretary, Committee on Gifts of Books to the Devastated Universities of Asia, The Registry, Broad Street, Oxford.

ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING

13th May, 1948

The President (the Earl of Scarbrough) in the chair, regretted that seven Honorary Members died during the year :—

Professors E. Herzfeld, D. H. Lüders, M. A. Palacios, J. Przyluski, Père Vincent Scheil, A. J. Wensinck, and Mahāmahopadyāya Gangānāth Jhā.

Seven Members died :—

H.H. the Maharaja of Nabha, Sir Richard Burn, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Miss C. M. Ridding, Lieut.-Col. G. McIver Smith, and Professor J. A. Stewart.

Two resigned :—

Mr. M. Dillon and Lieut. V. R. H. Gray.

Forty-nine new members took up their election :—

Professors A. Das-Gupta, G. R. Driver, and E. de Montagu ; Drs. Ibrahim Amin, P. S. Chattura, Herbert Franke, and O. Szemere'nyi ; Pandit P. P. Bachardas ; Rev. C. R. T. Mayne ; Major A. H. James ; Messrs. A. K. Abbasi, Abdulla el-Tayib, Engku Abdul-Aziz, Soheil M. Afnan, D. R. S. Bailey, B. M. A. Bajwa, M. R. Bevaja, O. H. Bedford, D. C. P. Beneregama, G. L. Bottoni, J. Braga, J. G. Burton-Page, W. B. Burwell, F/Lt. V. Chitty, D. Cowan, J. D. M. Derrett, A. J. Grenfeld, A. C. Gupta, S. B. S. Gupta, S. A. Hamid, R. K. Jha, J. M. B. Jones, K. R. Judd, B. Klein, J. Landau, P. van der Loon, R. M. Macdonald, M. Majumdar, S. A. Mogul, L. Owen-Jones, M. P. Pallath, I. B. Powell, B. N. Prasad, B. S. Ramdas, H. S. Robinson, C. A. Rylands, M. H. Sayid, M. V. Rama Sarma, P. Singa, H. Singh, Amin Tibi, T. P. Tunnard-Moore, E. W. Trotman, Mhd. I. Uppal, K. B. Vyas, M. M. Williams ; Mrs. C. Boxer, Mrs. K. Walker, Miss L. A. Schwarzschild.

Lectures.—Sir Richard Winstedt lectured on “ The East in English Literature ”, Bishop Stephen Neill on “ The Beginnings of Tamil Literature ”, and Mr. C. A. Kincaid on “ The Ancient Legends of Sind ”. Six lectures were delivered in connection with

the Winter Exhibition of Indian Art at Burlington House, one of them in conjunction with the Royal India Society and three in conjunction with that Society and the Royal Society of Arts. Mrs. Villiers Stuart lectured on "The Garden in Indian Art", Mr. M. H. Briggs, F.R.I.B.A., on "Hindu Muslim in Indian Architecture", and Mr. K. de B. Codrington on "The Development of Indian Sculpture"; Mr. Basil Gray gave two lectures, one on "Indian Art" and one on "Indian Painting".

Triennial Gold Medal.—This was awarded to Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.B.A., D.Litt. (Oxon), M.A.

Burton Memorial Medal.—This medal was awarded to Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. D. L. R. Lorimer jointly.

Campbell Memorial Medal.—At the request of the Bombay Branch this medal was formally presented to Professor F. W. Thomas, C.I.E., F.B.A., Ph.D.

Universities Prize Essay.—Eight essays were received. The Prize was awarded to Mr. G. Bennett, New College, Oxford, for his essay on "The British Contribution to India". Special prizes were given to Mr. N. A. D. Macrae, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Mr. G. A. Cary, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Exhibition of the Art of India and Pakistan.—Jointly with the Royal India Society and the Royal Society of Art, the Society gave a reception at Burlington House at which more than 400 guests assembled. Two illuminated Mughal MSS. were lent for the Exhibition, viz. the Gulistan of Sa'di, dated A.H. 990 (A.D. 1581) and the Mathnawi of Zafar Khan, written at Lahore in A.H. 1073 (A.D. 1662-3).

Publications.—*Muslim Theology*, by Prof. A. S. Tritton, M.A., D. Litt., made Volume XXIII of the series published out of the G. Forlong Fund.

Donations.—The Society was deeply indebted to Dr. Quaritch Wales for the gift of a valuable collection of Siamese manuscripts and to Dr. Bimala Churn Law for a gift of all his publications.

The Society was again indebted to Mr. D. H. Bramall, M.B.E., T.D., of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., its Honorary Solicitor.

Introducing the Report the President deplored the passing of Sir Richard Burn, an able historian, a valued reviewer, and wise member of the Society's Council.

Relations with India and Burma had changed so radically that it was reassuring to see that more than half the new members were

Asians. The Society had no task more important than to ensure that the bonds of Anglo-Asian scholarship remain firm.

To promote the magnificent exhibition of the Art of India and Pakistan two of their members, Sir Richard Winstedt and Professor Codrington, had gone to India, and the Society had received the thanks of the Royal Academy for helping to bring home to Europe the abundant variety of India's painting and the superb quality of her sculpture.

Two items in the accounts were notable, the sum received for the lease of the Society's last premises and Dr. B. C. Law's handsome donation. Pakistan had generously promised to give an annual grant of £50. India was giving £200.

Those with experience of accounts would appreciate the financial work carried out by the Secretary, in addition to her oversight of the library, her large correspondence and the time she devoted to members and to the Society's entertainments. The Council was sensible of the debt owed to her energy and zeal.

Further funds were needed to increase the staff, enlarge the *Journal*, and purchase books for the library. But the Society had weathered the storm of a world war and had in many respects bettered its position. It was a pleasure, too, to note the gradual rehabilitation of other Societies with similar aims.

The Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Lindsay, after commenting on details in the accounts, announced that the Inland Revenue authorities had, after several years, admitted the Society's claim to the income tax paid out of covenanted subscriptions, which would increase its revenue by £80 or more. He trusted that more members would now enter into a covenant to subscribe for seven years, a course involving them in no liability at all but nearly doubling their subscriptions to the Society. It was a practice common in learned and charitable societies. The Ministry of Works had paid £600 for deterioration of the premises during its occupancy, and there was hope of a further payment. But £2,000 had been spent on repairs and renewals; and the cost of various items connected with the removal amounted to £3,323, of which Dr. B. C. Law had defrayed £1,400. The rent of the premises was only £350 but the Land Tax had been heavy, though it might be greatly reduced. In a full year the Society would get £890 from rents.

To-day it cost £651 to print and circulate two *Journals* a year, so that an improved financial position allowed no ground for

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Fellows	321	6	0			
Non-Resident Members	363	0	0			
Student and Miscellaneous	15	2	6			
Fellow Compounders	31	10	0			
Non-Resident Compounders	113	2	0			
	<hr/>			844	0	6
GRANTS—						
British Academy	200	0	0			
Government of Hong Kong, 1946-47	10	0	0			
Government of Malayan Union, 1946-47	86	0	0			
	<hr/>			296	0	0
DONATION—						
Dr. B. C. Law				1,400	0	0
RENTS RECEIVED						
				573	15	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	259	16	0			
Additional Copies Sold	112	4	0			
Pamphlets Sold	2	2	9			
	<hr/>			374	2	9
GOVERNMENT REDEMPTION OF LOCAL LOANS						
				1,426	1	10
INTEREST ON INVESTMENTS						
				139	13	5
SALE OF LEASE OF 74 GROSVENOR STREET						
				24,733	10	11
SALE OF SIX ESSE STOVES						
				18	0	0
ROYALTIES						
				184	15	10
SALE OF CATALOGUE						
				31	18	0
COMMISSION ON SALE OF FORLONG FUND BOOKS, 1946						
				14	4	4
SUNDRY RECEIPTS						
				164	4	11

£30,200 7 6

GENERAL ACCOUNT INVESTMENTS

£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Loan 1960-90.
 £2,500 2½% Defence Bonds.
 £4,908 16s. 7d. 1½% Exchequer Bonds.
 £4,365 12s. 9d. 2½% National War Bonds.

NOTE

£1,726 4s. 2d. was outstanding as a liability at the end of the year, to be transferred to a separate compounded subscription account.

PAYMENTS FOR 1947

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax (£334 11s. 6d. Tax)	527	1	6			
Rates	80	5	11			
Gas and Light	73	3	2			
Coal and Coke	32	6	7			
Telephone	19	0	10			
Cleaning	19	1	1			
Insurance	79	14	6			
Repairs and Renewals	2,013	9	10			
				2,844	3	5
INVESTMENTS—						
Purchase of 2½% Defence Bonds	2,500	0	0			
Purchase of 2½% Exchequer Bonds	5,000	0	0			
Purchase of 2½% National War Bonds	4,500	0	0			
				12,000	0	0
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND						
				30	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES						
				1,028	12	9
PRINTING AND STATIONERY						
				28	18	2
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	585	7	0			
Postage	15	15	0			
				601	2	0
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE						
				3	3	0
GENERAL POSTAGE						
				28	15	0½
SUNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas	36	19	8			
Lectures	4	9	6			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	23	19	8			
Fee for Audit and Income Tax Claim	15	15	0			
Other General Expenditure	136	12	9			
				217	16	7
SOLICITOR'S COSTS re SALE OF LEASE OF 74 GROSVENOR STREET						
				164	8	6
COMMISSION ON SALE OF LEASE OF 74 GROSVENOR STREET						
				432	10	0
COST OF REMOVAL						
				727	1	0
COST OF LEASE OF QUEEN ANNE STREET						
				300	0	0
STAMP DUTY ON LEASE						
				17	10	0
SURVEYOR'S FEE FOR WORK AT QUEEN ANNE STREET						
				120	0	0
FURNISHING						
				1,474	2	6
AGENT'S COMMISSION FOR LETTING FLATS						
				75	0	0
BANK CHARGES						
				12	17	11
				20,106	11	4½
OVERDRAWN, 1/1/47						
				8,410	7	9½
BALANCE, 31/12/47—						
Cash at Bank in Current Account	1,667	9	1			
Cash in hand	15	13	8			
P.O. Savings Bank	5	7				
				1,683	8	4
				£30,200	7	6

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND, 1947

	£	s.	d.
BALANCE, 1/1/47	1,041	18	11
TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT	30	10	6
DIVIDENDS TO BE RE-INVESTED	36	2	10
	<u>£1,108</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE REPRESENTED						
BY £1,032 12s. 10d.						
WAR STOCK	1,072	7	5			
CASH AT BANK	36	2	10			
				<u>1,108</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>
				<u>£1,108</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1947

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS			
BALANCE, 1/1/47	298	17	1
SALES	145	18	3
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT		6	0
	<u>£445</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>

PAYMENTS					
RENTAL OF TYPE			1	1	0
BINDING 100 VOLS. XIV AND XV, 80 VOL. XX			32	10	0
SUNDRIES				2	2
31/12/47 BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY			411	8	2
			<u>£445</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/47	282	3	2
SALES	61	3	6
	<u>£343</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>

PRINTING 500 VOL. XXIV	121	16	4
31/12/47 BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	221	10	4
	<u>£343</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1947

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	411	8	2
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONO-GRAPH FUND	221	10	4
	<u>£632</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>6</u>

CASH AT BANK—			
On Current Account	572	18	6
On Deposit Account	60	0	0
	<u>£632</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>6</u>

INVESTMENTS, NH.

TRUST FUNDS, 1947

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/47	272	1	0
SALES	45	3	6
DIVIDENDS	18	0	0
	<u>£335</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>

BINDING 56 VOL. XVI	4	4	0
31/12/47 BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	331	0	6
	<u>£335</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/47	103	3	11
DIVIDENDS	9	15	0
	<u>£112</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>11</u>

TOKEN MEDAL	3	3	6
31/12/47 BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	109	15	5
	<u>£112</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>11</u>

UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/47	226	13	6
DIVIDENDS	20	15	4
	<u>£247</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>

31/12/47 BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	247	8	10
	<u>£247</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
BALANCE, 1/1/47	220	7	0	31/12/47 BALANCE CARRIED TO			234	5	11
DIVIDENDS		4	18 11	SUMMARY					
	£234	5	11				£234	5	11

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1947

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	331	0	6	31/12/47 CASH AT BANK ON					
GOLD MEDAL FUND	109	15	5	CURRENT ACCOUNT			922	10	8
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND	247	8	10						
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT	234	5	11						
	£922	10	8				£922	10	8

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
 £40 3½% Conversion Stock 1961 ("B" account).
 Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1947

BALANCE, 1/1/47	5	15	8	BALANCE—CASH AT BANK ON					
DIVIDENDS		7	4	CURRENT ACCOUNT			55	3	10
GOVERNMENT REDEMPTION OF LOCAL LOANS	49	0	10						
	£55	3	10				£55	3	10

INVESTMENTS. NIL

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1947

BALANCE, 1/1/47	1,105	12	5	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND						
DIVIDENDS	152	1	11	AFRICAN STUDIES						
SALES	83	10	0	SCHOLARSHIPS	270	0	0			
				LECTURES		44	18	0		
				CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS						
				PRINTING PROCEEDINGS						
				OF SIR W. JONES						
				BI-CENTENARY CON-						
				FERENCE	34	5	0			
								349	3	0
				R.A.S. 10% COMMISSION SALES 1946				14	4	4
				BALANCE—CASH AT BANK						
				ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	647	17	0			
				CASH IN P.O. SAVINGS						
				BANK	330	0	0			
								977	17	0
	£1,341	4	4					£1,341	4	4

FORLONG FUND INVESTMENT

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942-62.
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4% Inscribed Stock 1940-60.
 £1,031 12s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70.
 £1,217 2s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.
 £700 3½% Conversion Loan 1961 ("A" account).
 £45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
 £253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Stock ("A" account).

complacency. A larger revenue was required for *Journals*, staff, and library.

Mr. Enthoven, in moving the adoption of the Report and the Accounts, alluded to the investiture of the President with the Garter and to the award of the Society's Gold Medal to the Director. The Director had flown to India to help promote the Exhibition of the Art of India and Pakistan, though it was to be regretted that the British public was more interested in Dick Barton than in Avalokitesvara. It was a sombre reflection, too, that British services in India and Burma would no longer contribute to Oriental studies. Where would the future find a Vincent-Smith, a Grierson, a Risley?

Lady Drower seconded, referring to the assiduous zeal of Mrs. Davis for the Society's interests and to the time devoted to its business by the Director.

The Report was passed unanimously and the following Officers and Members of Council were elected : a Vice-President, Sir Edward Maclagan ; Hon. Librarian, Dr. L. D. Barnett ; Hon. Treasurer, J. H. Lindsay, Esq. ; Hon. Secretary, Professor A. J. Arberry ; Members of Council, Professors C. R. Boxer and A. S. Tritton, Sir Angus Gillan, Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, and Messrs. C. C. Brown, A. Master, and M. S. H. Thompson.

On the motion of the Hon. Treasurer it was resolved that $1\frac{1}{4}\%$ Exchequer Bonds 1950 (£4,908 16s. 7d.) and $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ National War Bonds, 1949-1951 (£4,365 12s. 9d.) be sold by the Society and that the proceeds of that sale be invested, in respect of £5,000 in 3% Electricity Stock, 1968-1973, and in respect of the residue in 3% British Transport (Wagons), 1968-1973.

It was further approved that £50 standing to the credit of the Burton Memorial Fund be invested in 3% Funding Stock, 1959-1969.

It was also approved that $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ Defence Bonds (£2,500) should be realized in due course and the proceeds invested in 3% Funding Stock, 1959-1969.

The Hon. Treasurer was empowered to sign the necessary documents for the execution of the three last resolutions.

The Burton Memorial Medal

This medal was presented to Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, C.I.E., and Mrs. Lorimer, O.B.E., on 13th May.

The President (Lord Scarbrough) said that they had travelled further afield in the Muslim world than Sir Richard Burton. After entering the Indian army Col. Lorimer had held consular posts in Persia and political posts at Chitral and in Baluchistan, enabling him to learn fourteen languages or more. In 1933 he was awarded a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. And he had written four standard works on philology.

In his studies and travels Col. Lorimer had been ably assisted by his wife, who had won First Class Honours in modern languages at Oxford. She had edited the *Basra Times*, been *Times* correspondent for Kashmir, and among her works were *Persian Tales* (written in collaboration with her husband) and *Language Hunting in Karakorum*.

Colonel and Mrs. Lorimer expressed their gratification at being awarded the Medal, after which Col. Lorimer lectured on Bakhtiari Poetry.

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